

DINAH AMONG JACOB'S SEVENTY: ON GENESIS 46,8-27 *

In Gen 45,26 – 46,7, YHWH reveals to Jacob that his son Joseph is alive and well in Egypt, and in response Jacob departs from Canaan in order to join Joseph. Jacob does not travel alone, and the record in 46,8-27 contains the names of Jacob's family at the time of his arrival in Egypt. This record is organized by the descendants born to each mother and includes a running tally of these descendants: according to the Hebrew text, thirty-three descendants to Leah (vv. 8-15); sixteen to Zilpah (vv. 16-18); fourteen to Rachel (vv. 19-22); and seven to Bilhah (vv. 23-25). At the end of this record, the reader is informed that Jacob's family consisted of seventy members (v. 27).

A closer look at the record in Gen 46,8-27, however, reveals many difficulties in both the numbers and the names, and these difficulties are compounded when these verses are read alongside other descriptions of Jacob's family. In Gen 46,27b, the total number of persons in Jacob's household is stated as seventy (כל הנפש לבית יעקב הבאה מצרימה שבעים), but when the individual names in vv. 8-25 are counted, the sum of the names exceeds seventy by one. Two of Judah's sons, Er and Onan, died in Canaan before the descent into Egypt (v. 12; cf. 38,7.10), but their removal from the sum still results in a glaring problem, one that has long been recognized, as illustrated by a discourse among the *amoraim* on the identity of the seventieth member in *b. B.Bat.* 123a-b:

בעא מיניה אבא חליפא קרויא מ'ר' חייא בר אבא בכללן אתה מוצא שבעים בפרטן אתה מוצא שבעים חסר אחר אמר ליה תאומה היתה עם דינה דכתיב ואת דינה בתו אלא מעתה תאומה היתה עם בנימן דכתיב ואת בנימין אחיו בן אמו אמר מרגלית טובה היתה בידי ואתה מבקש לאבדה ממני הכי אמר ר' חמא בר חנינא זו יוכבד שהורתה בדרך ולידתה בין החומות שנאמר אשר ילדה אותה ללוי במצרים לידתה במצרים ואין הורתה במצרים

Abba Ḥalifa Karoya addressed R. Ḥiyya *bar* Abba: "In the total you find seventy; on their own you find seventy minus one". He [Ḥiyya *bar* Abba] said to him: "A twin was with Dinah, as it is written: With his daughter Dinah". "But if that is so then a twin was with Benjamin, as it is written: With Benjamin his brother, his mother's son". He [Ḥiyya *bar* Abba] said, "A good pearl is in my hand but you seek to have me lose it!". Indeed,

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R. Ḥama *bar* Ḥanina said: “This is Jochebed whose conception was on the journey and whose birth was between the walls, as it is stated: who was born to Levi in Egypt. Her birth was in Egypt but her conception was not in Egypt”.

Here, the problem of the missing seventieth person is resolved with either an unnamed twin of Dinah or Jochebed, the mother of Moses (cf. Exod 6,20; Num 26,59). In Gen 46,8, and elsewhere in 37,35, Jacob has daughters, and yet no daughter other than Dinah is ever named. The seventieth member of Jacob’s family has also been identified as Serah the daughter of Asher (cf. Num 26,46) and — mindful of the grammatical difficulty in *וּבְנֵי דָן חֲשִׁים* in Gen 46,23¹ — a missing son of Dan (*Ber.Rab.* 94,9). While the identity of the seventieth member of Jacob’s family has been a long-standing crux, the record of names contains a host of other problems. To begin, why do some of the textual witnesses claim that Jacob’s family numbered seventy (as in MT Gen 46,27) yet other witnesses contain another number, seventy-five (as in LXX Gen 46,27 27)? Apart from whether this number is seventy or seventy-five, is the notice in v. 26 (both MT and LXX) that, excluding the wives of Jacob’s sons, sixty-six persons belonged to Jacob absolutely necessary? A closer look at some of the names in Gen 46,8-27 raises additional questions. Why does the text state that Leah had thirty-three descendants (v. 15) but a head count of the names in vv. 8-14 adds up to thirty-four? Because Er and Onan died in Canaan, should they be removed from the tally? Given that Joseph’s two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, were born in Egypt and not Canaan, should they be excluded from the seventy persons? Since Dinah does not appear in the other records of Jacob’s children in Gen 35,22b-26 or Exod 1,1-5, should Dinah be left out of the record in Gen 46,8-27?

As we shall see below, there are additional problems in Gen 46,8-27. Taken all together, these problems lead to the view that Gen 46,8-27 presents an incoherent, if not illogical, record of Jacob’s family. My goal in this article is to offer a solution to the literary problems contained in the record of names in Gen 46,8-27. The solution proposed below examines the apparent disjunctions, is informed by the recognition that the Pentateuchal corpus has been shaped by multiple hands, identifies the literary strata that underlie the text, and expounds on the process by which these verses reached their final form.

¹ In Num 26,42, the name of Dan’s son Shuham (*אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי דָן לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם לְשׁוּחָם*) is likely the product of metathesis; cf. *Ἀσομ* in LXX Gen 46,23 and *Σαμ* in LXX 26,46 (= MT v. 42).

⁷ I see no reason to attribute *אשר ילדה לו אסנת בת פוטי פרע כהן אן* in Gen 46,20 to a redactional hand (as suggested in H. GUNKEL, *Genesis* [Göttingen⁶1964] 493; Eng.,

<i>MT Gen 46,20</i>	<i>LXX Gen 46,20</i>
To Joseph were born in the land of Egypt, who Aseneth daughter of Potiphera priest of On bore to him: Manasseh and Ephraim.	And sons of Ioseph were born in the land of Egypt, Manasse and Ephraim, whom Asenneth, the daughter of Petephres priest of Heliopolis, bore to him. Sons of Manasse were born, whom a Syrian concubine bore to him: Machir. And Machir beget Galaad. The sons of Ephraim, brother of Manasse: Southalaam and Taam. The sons of Southalaam: Edem.

In MT v. 20 Joseph has two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim — the third generation of Jacob. In contrast, in LXX v. 20 Jacob’s descendants are recorded to the fifth generation: Joseph has Manasseh and Ephraim; Manasseh has, through a Syrian concubine, a son Machir who in turn has a son, Galaad; Ephraim has two sons, Southalaam and Taam, and Southalaam has a son, Edem — seven descendants ⁸. The disagreements between MT and LXX continue with the grandchildren born to Rachel’s youngest son Benjamin. Both MT and LXX agree that Benjamin has ten descendants, but they disagree on the exact relationships between these ten descendants:

<i>MT Gen 46,21</i>	<i>LXX Gen 46,21</i>
ובני בנימן בלע ובכר ואשבֿל גרא ונעמן אחי וראש מפֿים וחפֿים וארד	υἱοὶ δὲ Βενιαμιν· Βαλα καὶ Χοβωρ καὶ Ασβηλ. ἐγένοντο δὲ υἱοὶ Βαλα· Γηρα καὶ Νοεμαν καὶ Αγχις καὶ Ρως καὶ Μамφιν καὶ Οφιμιν· Γηρα δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Αραδ.
The children of Benjamin: Bela, Becher, Ashbel, Gera, Naaman, Ehi, Rosh, Muppim, Huppim, and Ard.	The sons of Beniamin: Bala, Chobor, and Asbel. And sons of Bala: Gera, Noeman, Agchis, Ros, Mamphin, Ophmin. And Gera became the father of Arad.

Genesis [MLBS; Macon, GA 1997] 467). אסנת בת פוטי פרע כהן און is perfectly readable in 41,45-46a, a Priestly episode. This phrase also appears in v. 50b, but may be seen as redactional since it is surrounded by materials that are not Priestly (vv. 46b-54a).

⁸ LXX Gen 46,27a, however, has “nine persons” born to Joseph (υἱοὶ δὲ Ἰωσηφ οἱ γενόμενοι αὐτῷ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ψυχαὶ ἐννέα; cf. MT ובני יוסף אשר ילד לו במצרים נפש שנים). The mention of “nine persons” reflects the LXX translator’s attempt at bridging the gap between sixty-six (v. 26) and seventy-five (v. 27b); see J. SKINNER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (ICC; Edinburgh ²1930) 495; J.W. WEVERS, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (SBLSCS 35; Atlanta, GA 1993) 786.

MT contains a record of Benjamin's ten sons — that is, parallel to MT's report of Joseph, Jacob's third generation. In LXX, Benjamin's ten descendants are spread out over four generations: starting with Benjamin, three sons, six grandsons, and one great-grandson, and as was the case in the LXX report of Joseph's descendants (v. 20) this report includes Jacob's fifth generation.

Depending on the textual tradition, the records of Joseph and Benjamin contain Jacob and Rachel's descendants to either the third generation (MT) or the fifth generation (LXX). The gap of five descendants of Joseph when MT and LXX are compared to each other results in the different sub-totals of the children born to Rachel in MT Gen 46,22 (כל נפש ארבעה עשר) and LXX v. 22 (corrected $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \psi\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\ \epsilon\acute{\nu}\nu\epsilon\alpha$)⁹, as well as the number seventy in MT Gen 46,27 or seventy-five in LXX v. 27. The differences between MT Gen 46,8-27 and LXX Gen 46,8-27 have been explained in one of two ways: either MT-Genesis preserves the original reading and the differences in its LXX counterpart can be attributed to the work of a scribe, likely the translator, that shaped LXX-Genesis (that is, five names were added to the Greek text), or the LXX translator to Genesis had a Hebrew *Vorlage* that contained a different reading than proto-MT, and so MT-Genesis reflects the work of a later editor (that is, an editor of the Hebrew text subtracted five names)¹⁰. Among the critics who maintain that LXX Gen 46,27 (and Exod 1,5) preserves the original Hebrew reading and the "extras" lie in MT, I. Kislev has argued that the reading of seventy that appears in MT took shape over stages: the Priestly report of Jacob's seventy-five descendants (as preserved in LXX Gen 46,27; Exod 1,5) was combined with the Deuteronomic report of Jacob's seventy descendants (MT and LXX Deut 10,22), and this contradiction stood in the MT textual tradition until a later editor reworked "seventy-five" in both Gen 46,27 and Exod 1,5 with the aim to align these numbers with

⁹ In the LXX list of Rachel's descendants, nineteen names appear in Gen 46,20-21; however, the sub-total in v. 22 is "all eighteen persons" ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \psi\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\ \delta\alpha\tau\acute{\omega}$), and when this number is added with the other sub-totals the total is seventy-four and not seventy-five (as in v. 27). The LXX translator may have lost count (WEVERS, *Greek Text of Genesis*, 785) and some witnesses contain the corrected $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \psi\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\ \epsilon\acute{\nu}\nu\epsilon\alpha$; see J.W. WEVERS, *Genesis* (SVTG 1; Göttingen 1974) 438.

¹⁰ Here, it should be pointed out that any insights into the relationship between MT-Genesis and LXX-Genesis should be set apart from the other corresponding books in MT and LXX. For discussion of the relationship between LXX-Genesis and MT-Genesis, see M.W. SCARLATA, "Genesis", *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint* (ed. J.K. AITKEN) (London 2015) 13-28, here 13-15; M. KEPPEL, "Genesis", *Introduction to the Septuagint* (ed. S. KREUZER) (Waco, TX 2019) 75-87, here 79. On the difficulty of reaching an "original" Hebrew text through the tools of textual criticism, see, *inter alios*, E. ULRICH, "Our Sharper Focus on the Bible and Theology Thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls", *CBQ* 66 (2004) 1-24, here 16-18.

“seventy” in Deut 10,22 ¹¹. But here a question arises: why does this editor not change only Deut 10,22 (and in the Hebrew text) with what would amount to a simple solution — the addition of a single word, חמֵשׁ? In response to this question, Kislev further argues that since it was not possible for Joseph’s sons to descend into Egypt with Jacob’s family, the removal of the descendants of Manasseh and Ephraim (comparing MT Gen 46,20 to LXX) was eventually deemed necessary ¹².

It should be noted that both LXX-Genesis and MT-Genesis contain difficulties in chronology. Joseph is thirty years old when he marries Aseneth (Gen 41,45), and then, sometime during the seven years of plenty, their two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, are born (vv. 50-52). When Jacob’s family arrives in Egypt, two years of famine have passed (45,6). In both LXX and MT, Manasseh and Ephraim cannot be much older than nine years when Jacob’s family arrives in Egypt. Yet, LXX lists Jacob’s and Rachel’s descendants to the fifth generation with Manasseh’s and Ephraim’s children and grandchildren, which raises another question: how could Manasseh and Ephraim have children and grandchildren by the time Jacob arrives in Egypt? It remains difficult to see LXX Gen 46,20, with its list of children and grandchildren born to Manasseh and Ephraim, as containing the original reading. Chronological problems also appear in the MT and LXX reports of Benjamin. The first time Benjamin arrives in Egypt his older brother Joseph calls him “child” (בֶּנִי, MT Gen 43,29; τέκνον, LXX v. 29) and he is known as the child of Jacob’s old age (וִילָד זְקִינִים, MT 44,20; καὶ παῖδιον γῆρως, LXX v. 20). The problems with MT will be noted below, but in LXX Gen 46,21 is it possible for enough time to pass for Benjamin to arrive in Egypt with any children, and especially grandchildren and great-grandchildren, when Jacob’s family migrates from Canaan to Egypt?

There are, indeed, reasons to uphold LXX-Genesis as a textual tradition that improved upon a Hebrew text, and that the original reading is preserved in MT-Genesis. What amounts to five more descendants of Joseph, that is Joseph’s great-grandchildren, in LXX Gen 46,20 is partially informed by the census that is preserved in MT Num 26,5-51 (specifically, vv. 28-37) which includes Machir *ben* Manasseh, Gilead *ben*

¹¹ I. KISLEV, “The Counting of Jacob’s Descendants Coming to Egypt: Tradition and Text”, *Iggud. Selected Essays in Jewish Studies*. Vol. 1: The Bible and its World, Rabbinic Literature, and Jewish Thought (eds. B.J. SCHWARTZ – A. MELAMED – A. SHEMESH) (Jerusalem 2008) 143-159 [Hebrew]. See also the argument that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Genesis 46 forms the basis for Numbers 26 in I. KISLEV, “The Census of the Israelites on the Plains of Moab (Numbers 26): Sources and Redaction”, *VT* 63 (2013) 236-260, here 238-243.

¹² KISLEV, “Counting of Jacob’s Descendants”, 153-154.

Machir ¹³, Shuthelah *ben* Ephraim, Tahan *ben* Ephraim, and Eran ¹⁴ *ben* Shuthelah. In constructing Benjamin's descendants to the fourth generation, the LXX-Genesis translator draws from another part of this census, in (MT) Num 26,38-41, in which Benjamin has five sons (Bela, Ashbel, Ahiram, Shephupham, and Hupham) and two grandsons (Ard and Naaman, both from Bela) ¹⁵. It appears that a Hebrew text of Numbers is not the only source for the LXX-Genesis translator, as the detail of Manasseh's Syrian concubine, ἡ παλλακὴ ἡ Σύρα, in LXX Gen 46,20 may be influenced by a Hebrew text of 1 Chr 7,14 (פִּלְגֵּשׁוֹ הָאֲרָמִיָּה) ¹⁶. Although MT-Genesis contains chronological problems of a different scale, the LXX-Genesis reports of Joseph's and Benjamin's descendants demonstrate that LXX Gen 46,8-27 is not only a translation of its Hebrew *Vorlage* but also an attempt to harmonize the disparate records of Joseph's and Benjamin's descendants as presented in MT-Genesis and MT-Numbers. While the number seventy-five in LXX Gen 46,27 (and also LXX Exod 1,5) as well as the lists of the descendants of both Joseph and Benjamin in LXX Gen 46,20-21 are noteworthy as they reflect translation, interpretation, and harmonization with other Hebrew texts on the part of the LXX-Genesis translator, the original reading of Jacob's descendants contained the number seventy, as it appears in MT-Genesis.

II. JACOB'S FAMILY ACCORDING TO P AND NON-P

Although MT Gen 46,27 (as well as MT Exod 1,5) preserves the original reading of seventy members of Jacob's family, it is clear that MT-Genesis is not free from problems. Some of the problems identified above remain, such as the claim in Gen 46,21 that Benjamin has ten sons when he arrives in Egypt, as well as the appearance of Dinah in v. 15. The relationship between the figure sixty-six in 46,26 and the figure seventy in v. 27 also requires an explanation. I subscribe to the view that the Pentateuch is the product of sources that were interwoven with each other, and many of the problems in MT-Genesis reflect the process by which the Pentateuchal corpus achieves its final form. The contradictions of

¹³ In its current place, וּמְכִיר הַיּוֹלִיד אֶת גִּלְעָד in Num 26,29aβ is difficult; see n. 33 below.

¹⁴ In MT Num 26,36: וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי שׁוּתֵלַח לְעֶרְן מִשְׁפַּחַת הָעֲרָנִי. Εἰδεν in LXX Gen 46,20 may reflect confusion between *dālet* and *reš*.

¹⁵ In comparison, LXX Num 26,42-45 (= MT vv. 38-41) lists four sons (Bale, Asybel, Achiran, and Sophan) and two grandsons (Adar and Noeman, both born to Bale) of Benjamin.

¹⁶ This detail in 1 Chr 7,14 is difficult; see S. JAPHET, *I & II Chronicles. A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, KY 1993) 174-179.

Jacob's family in MT-Genesis emerge after both of the separate, and originally independent, P (Priestly) and non-P records of Jacob's children were preserved¹⁷. For some critics, Gen 46,8-27 and what comes before in vv. 6-7 belong in some way to P¹⁸. While Gen 35,22b-26 and Exod 1,1-5 also belong to P, Gen 46,8-27 is more expansive as it contains not only the names of Jacob's children but also Jacob's grandchildren and great-grandchildren (and, in LXX, Jacob's great-great-grandchildren). Other critics, however, see P^(G) in only all or portions of vv. 6-7¹⁹, and from this view vv. 8-27 are upheld as a secondary insertion into P^(G)²⁰, or a post-P composition²¹, or a composite of non-P and post-P materials²², or independent of a "Joseph Story"²³.

¹⁷ Following a modified expression of the four-source hypothesis, I subscribe to the view that "non-P" — material that is verifiably neither "P" nor "D" (Deuteronomic) — does not belong to a single hand but can be further identified as "E" (Elohist) or "J" (Yahwist). The precise identification of E and J is not germane to this article, and my source-critical observations will be limited to the notes below. These four sources were preserved and combined by a single redactor, "R". With the example of Gen 46,8-27 in mind, the manner by which R collates and harmonizes the source materials will be discussed below.

¹⁸ J. WELLHAUSEN, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin⁴1963) 51; C. WESTERMANN, *Genesis* (BKAT 1; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1982) 3:174-176 (Eng., *Genesis 37–50. A Continental Commentary* [Minneapolis, MN 2002] 157-159); D.M. CARR, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis. Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville, KY 1996) 271; R.G. KRATZ, *Die Komposition der erzählenden Bücher des Alten Testaments* (UTB 2157; Göttingen 2000) 243 (Eng., *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* [London 2005] 241); J.S. BADEN, *The Composition of the Pentateuch. Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis* (New Haven, CT 2012) 172; S. SHECTMAN, *Women in the Pentateuch. A Feminist and Source-Critical Analysis* (HBM 23; Sheffield 2009) 129; F. EDE, *Die Josefsgeschichte. Literarkritische und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Entstehung von Gen 37–50* (BZAW 485; Berlin 2016) 362-363.

¹⁹ Here, "G" denotes *Grundschrift*. On Gen 46,6-7, see N. LOHFINK, "Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte", *Studien zum Pentateuch* (SBAB 4; Stuttgart 1988) 189-225, here 198 n. 29 (Eng., "The Priestly Narrative and History", *Theology of the Pentateuch. Themes of the Priestly Narrative and Deuteronomy* [Minneapolis, MN 1994] 136-172, here 145 n. 29); T. POLA, *Die ursprüngliche Priesterschrift. Beobachtungen zur Literarkritik und Traditionsgeschichte von P^G* (WMANT 70; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1995) 168; P. GUILLAUME, *Land and Calendar. The Priestly Document from Genesis 1 to Joshua 18* (LHB/OTS 391; London 2009) 133; S. BOORER, *The Vision of the Priestly Narrative. Its Genre and Hermeneutics of Time* (AIL 27; Atlanta, GA 2016) 472-474.

²⁰ J.E. CARPENTER – G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch According to the Revised Version*. 2 vols (London 1900) 2:72; as a summary of the Priestly census in Numbers 26, see E.A. SPEISER, *Genesis. Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 1; Garden City, NY 1964) 346-347.

²¹ E. BLUM, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte* (WMANT 57; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1984) 148-149.

²² For instance, vv. 6-7, 26 to non-P and vv. 8-25 to post-P in A. TOBOLOWSKY, *The Sons of Jacob and the Sons of Herakles. The History of the Tribal System and the Organization of Biblical Identity* (FAT II 96; Tübingen 2017) 116-125.

²³ Including, but not limited to, the transposition of 46,8-27 from its original place: immediately after 37,2, as in D.B. REDFORD, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph*

There is a strong case to be made that Gen 46,8-27 is not from a single hand, yet these verses contain details that align quite well with other Priestly materials ²⁴. The record of Levi's sons — Gershon, Kohath, and Merari — in v. 11 is an important detail in P because their children are either the Levites tasked with guarding the tabernacle when it is stationary as well as transporting the tabernacle and its furnishings, or they are the priests (restricted to the descendants of Aaron *ben* Amram *ben* Kohath; Exod 6,18.20) responsible for the proper upkeep of the cult. The notice of Leah's children born in Paddan-Aram in v. 15 is also consistent with P's portrayal of Jacob. In P, Isaac warned Jacob against marrying a Canaanite and sent his son to Paddan-Aram (28,2.6), out of which Jacob returned to Canaan (35,9), and it is in Paddan-Aram where twelve sons were born to Jacob (vv. 22b-26) ²⁵. The list of Jacob's sons appears throughout P: first in Gen 35,22b-26, then in 46,8-27* ²⁶, and later in Exod 1,1-5 ²⁷.

Before identifying the literary strata — specifically, the base Priestly layer and the redactional insertions that serve to flatten the differences between P and non-P — that underlie Gen 46,8-27, it is necessary to distinguish between the P and non-P portrayals of Jacob's family. Both P and non-P contain a record of Jacob's children, but there are irreconcilable differences. Gen 29,31 – 30,24, which belongs to non-P, contains a record of the birth of twelve of Jacob's children in Haran (and not

(Genesis 37–50) (VTSupp 20; Leiden 1970) 3-22; or before 37,2 (with the difficult suggestion that these verses belong to a tradition in which there was no migration to Egypt by Jacob but rather ended with a short account of Jacob's death and burial in Canaan), as in P. ADINALL, "Genesis XLVI 8-27", VT 54 (2004) 289-300; or a Priestly insertion, as in W. OSWALD, "Genesis Material in the Book of Exodus. Explicit Back References", *Book-Seams in the Hexateuch I. The Literary Transitions between the Books of Genesis/Exodus and Joshua/Judges* (eds. C. BERNER – H. SAMUEL) (FAT 120; Tübingen 2018) 157-170, here 157-158.

²⁴ For a discussion that takes its point of departure from the "final form" of Gen 46,8-27; Exod 1,1-5, and as belonging to a series of genealogies (*toledot*) that give Genesis its shape and purpose, see T. HIEKE, *Die Genealogien der Genesis* (HBS 39; Freiburg 2003) 191-213.

²⁵ Gen 35,22b-26 [P] is transposed from its original place; see SKINNER, *Genesis*, 422-423, and the recent proposal for its original place before 31,17-18 [P] in BADEN, *Composition*, 244. As we shall see below, a contradiction lies with another report of Benjamin's birth in 35,16-20.

²⁶ Here, and throughout this article, an asterisk (*) indicates a portion of a single verse or multiple verses. What exactly constitutes the Priestly portions of Gen 46,8-27 will be explained below and is presented in the Appendix.

²⁷ While the provenance of non-P at the end of Genesis and the beginning of Exodus remains a point of dispute (see J.S. BADEN, "The Continuity of the Non-Priestly Narrative from Genesis and Exodus", *Bib* 93 [2012] 161-186; K. SCHMID, "Genesis and Exodus as Two Formerly Independent Traditions of Origins for Ancient Israel", *Bib* 93 [2012] 187-208), critics who see P as a source (and not fragmentary) generally agree that P is continuous between Genesis and Exodus.

Paddan-Aram, which is in P) before his return to Canaan²⁸. Non-P ends with the birth of Joseph (30,22-24), and in non-P it is after Jacob returns to Canaan and is somewhere in between Bethel and Ephrath when Benjamin is born and Rachel dies during childbirth (35,16-20*)²⁹. In contrast to non-P, in P Benjamin was born to Jacob in Paddan-Aram and before Jacob's return to Canaan (35,22b-26). In the canonical text, the Benjamin who is called a young lad (נער, 43,8; 44,22.30-34) or the son of Jacob's old age (44,20) and the Benjamin with ten sons (46,21) are one and the same, but the canonical Benjamin is the product of the non-P and P reports of Benjamin. The portrayal of Benjamin as a father to ten sons belongs to P, aligns with P's portrayal of Jacob's twelve sons born during his years in Paddan-Aram, and was composed without the non-P reports in mind.

Dinah appears in Gen 46,15, but the surrounding record of Jacob's descendants is Priestly, and Dinah is absent elsewhere in P, notably in Gen 35,22b-26 and Exod 1,1-5. The records of Dinah's birth to Leah in Gen 30,21 and of Dinah's appearance in Genesis 34 are generally attributed to non-P³⁰. If Dinah is indeed secondary to the record of names in Gen 46,8-27, then it emerges that Dinah is mentioned only in non-P. The notice of Dinah in Gen 46,15 is also noteworthy as this verse contains the mention of Jacob's daughters (בנותיו), a detail also stated before the record of Jacob's family in v. 7 (בניו ובניו ונחיתו ובנות בניו). The only other mention of Jacob's daughters appears in Gen 37,35 in which Jacob's sons and daughters sought to comfort him (ויקמו כל בניו וכל בנותיו) over his grief for Joseph, which belongs to non-P. The reports of Jacob's daughters and Dinah in non-P, coupled with the absence of Jacob's daughters and Dinah in P (especially Gen 35,22b-26; Exod 1,1-5), lead to the view that Gen 46,7 and v. 15* are secondary additions³¹.

An explanation for the difficulties with Judah's sons and grandsons in Gen 46,12 lies with the non-P report of Judah's children in Genesis 38. Here, Judah marries a Canaanite woman named Shua (v. 2) who bears

²⁸ On the assumption that both J and E contained an account of Jacob's descendants, Gen 29,31 – 30,24 is difficult to divide into its constituent parts; see, for example, the division of these verses to J and E in A.W. JENKS, *The Elohist and North Israelite Traditions* (SBLMS 22; Missoula, MT 1977) 36; A. GRAUPNER, *Der Elohist. Gegenwart und Wirksamkeit des transzendenten Gottes in der Geschichte* (WMANT 97; Neukirchen-Vluyn 2002) 244-249.

²⁹ While Gen 35,16-20 may belong to a single hand (as in GRAUPNER, *Elohist*, 301-302), see the source-critical division of vv. 16a, 19 to P (cf. 48,7) and vv. 16b-18, 20 to E in BADEN, *Composition*, 236.

³⁰ Among its adherents, the source-critical division of Genesis 34 into J and E remains contested; see a suggestion in BADEN, *Composition*, 233-234.

³¹ In Gen 46,15, specifically ואת דינה בתו and ובנותיו; see also GUNKEL, *Genesis*, 493 (Eng., 467).

Er (v. 3), Onan (v. 4), and Shelah (v. 5). Judah takes Tamar as a wife (אשה) for Er, but after some wrongdoing, YHWH kills both Er (vv. 6-7) and Onan (vv. 8-10). The deaths of Er and Onan in Canaan are mentioned in Gen 46,12b^a and Num 26,19b (וימת ער ואונן בארץ כנען). As these notices in Gen 46,12b^a and Num 26,19b are surrounded by Priestly materials, I submit that P does know of Er and Onan, and — in a manner similar to that in which P and non-P disagree on Benjamin's birthplace — in P these two sons of Judah died not in Canaan but in Egypt, and without any reason given. Accordingly, in both Gen 46,12b^a and Num 26,19b, **וימת ער ואונן בארץ כנען** belong to P and **וימת ער ואונן בארץ מצרים** are from R with the aim of harmonizing the originally independent P and non-P reports of Er and Onan. The non-P episode in Genesis 38 continues with the report of Tamar giving birth to twins, Perez and Zerah (vv. 27-30). In Gen 46,12, Perez's sons Herzon and Hamul are included in the record of Jacob's descendants, but with 38,27-30 in mind there is a chronological problem: by the time Jacob's family descends to Egypt would enough years have passed for Perez to have two sons of his own? Both non-P and P count Perez and Zerah among Judah's sons, but the chronological problem in the canonical text is a by-product of the collation of non-P and P. The account of the birth of Perez and Zerah in Gen 38,27-30 belongs to non-P, and this account was originally independent of 46,12, which belongs to P. It is in P in which Perez is old enough to have two sons of his own when Jacob's family arrives in Egypt.

Some of the problems in Gen 46,8-27 can then be explained through R's work in harmonizing the P and non-P portrayals of Jacob's family. P forms the base layer of Gen 46,8-27, and it is in P in which Jacob had twelve sons born to him, all in Paddan-Aram, and from the time of his arrival in Canaan to his departure for Egypt, Jacob's family grew to seventy members. This number is also known to D, in which the ancestors who went down to Egypt totaled seventy but without naming the individuals (Deut 10,22). The continuation of P^(G) into Numbers remains a contested matter ³², and while there are significant differences between Gen 46,8-27 and Num 26,5-51, the two records — one when Jacob's family departs for Egypt and the other a census of eligible Israelite males for conscription taken at Moab — are broadly related to each other. In support for the Priestly provenance of Num 26,5-51, the expansive list of Joseph's descendants in (MT) vv. 28-37* (when compared to MT Gen 46,20) can be explained by Jacob's words to Joseph in Gen 48,5-6 [P]:

³² For a recent defense of P in Numbers 13–14*, 20*, 27*, see J.-L. SKA, "Old and New in the Book of Numbers", *Bib* 95 (2014) 102-116.

ועתה שני בניך הנולדים לך בארץ מצרים עד באי אליך מצרימה לי הם אפרים
ומנשה כראובן ושמעון יהיו לי ⁶ ומולדתך אשר הולדת אחריהם לך יהיו על שם
אחיהם יקראו בנחלתם

⁵ Now your two sons, who were born to you in the land of Egypt before I came to you in Egypt are mine — Manasseh and Ephraim are mine just as Reuben and Simeon are. ⁶ Your offspring born to you after them will be yours. The names of their brothers will be recorded with their inheritance.

In P, Jacob claims Manasseh and Ephraim as his own, which fits with the inclusion of Joseph's two sons among Jacob's descendants in Gen 46,20-27. The offspring who were born to Joseph appear in the record of Joseph's descendants by their clans in Num 26,28-37* and, as (the Priestly) Jacob promised, the offspring belong to (the Priestly) Joseph (cf. vv. 28, 37) ³³.

III. RESHAPING AND REWRITING JACOB'S FAMILY

From the above discussion, the P and non-P reports of Jacob's family can be briefly summarized as follows: in P, Jacob has twelve sons born to him in Paddan-Aram, and in Gen 46,8-27*, by the time he descends into Egypt, his family has grown to seventy members; in non-P, as described in Gen 29,31 – 30,24; 35,16-20*, Jacob has twelve sons — Benjamin the only son born in Canaan — and daughters, with Dinah the only daughter named. P and non-P differ on the exact number of Jacob's children and their birthplaces, but when read on their own P and non-P are coherent and consistent in their own claims. These reports of Jacob's family were constructed independently of each other as there is no indication that either P or non-P knew of each other or were responding to each other.

The identification of two different, yet distinct, reports underneath the canonical text reveals that the redactor (and keeping in mind that redactional activity may occur in a variety of ways), hereafter "R", can be thought of as a preservationist, one who seeks to retain as much of their source materials as possible, and with minimal intervention ³⁴. Indeed,

³³ It is my view that, similar to the record of Jacob's descendants in Gen 46,8-27, the record of Joseph's descendants in (MT) Num 26,28-37 reflects R's effort to align his source materials. ומכיר הוליד את גלעד in v. 29 is an addition; so also M. NOTH, *Das vierte Buch Mose: Numeri* (ATD 7; Göttingen ⁴1982) 179-180 (Eng., *Numbers. A Commentary* [OTL; Philadelphia, PA 1968] 206-207). Accordingly, in P Manasseh has two sons, Machir and Gilead, and it is only Gilead who has sons (vv. 30-32). In contrast, elsewhere in the Pentateuch Manasseh has three sons (Gen 50,23 [E]): Machir (whose descendants capture and possess Gilead in the Transjordan), Jair, and Mobah (Num 32,39-42 [E]; cf. Deut 3,15 [D]).

³⁴ I subscribe to the view that the inconsistencies, contradictions, and repetitions in MT are evidence of editorial activity, and that the discrepancies between MT-Genesis and

the interwoven quality of two different, and originally independent, portrayals of Jacob's family in the canonical text is the product of R's activity. In the list of Jacob's family in Gen 46,8-27, R's contributions result in the discrepancy between the thirty-four names and the listed sub-total of thirty-three in v. 15 as well as the appearance of two grand totals: seventy in v. 27, and, not including the wives of Jacob's sons, sixty-six in v. 26³⁵. R conserves his source materials as much as possible and his interventions in the source materials amount to factual corrections. R not only preserves the grand total of seventy from P but also preserves the appearance of Dinah and the location of the deaths of Er and Onan in Canaan from non-P. Departing from P's view of Manasseh and Ephraim among Jacob's descendants (v. 20; cf. 48,5-6), R addresses the birth of Joseph's sons in Egypt with the clarifying note: **ובני יוסף אשר ילד לו במצרים נפש שנים** (46,27a). Rather than rewrite the grand total of seventy (in v. 27) in his source materials, R inserts his "corrected" grand total of sixty-six, along with the explanation that this number does not include the wives of Jacob's sons (**מלבד נשי בני יעקב**, v. 26)³⁶. In Gen 46,8-27, R's activity is not limited to harmonizing the different lists of Jacob's children, but it also reduces any ambiguity that surrounds the status of Leah, Zilpah, Rachel, and Bilhah within Jacob's household. In P, Jacob gave his twelve sons the task of burying him (49,29-33), which they do (50,12-13)³⁷, a duty that is placed upon the child of a woman recognized as a wife of the master of the household³⁸. It then appears that in P both Zilpah and Bilhah have the status of "wife" in Jacob's household, and R intervenes with his own clarifying remarks on Jacob's marital relations: Laban gave Zilpah to

LXX-Genesis can be explained by the translator's interpretation and clarification of the Hebrew text. For a recent challenge to this interpretative approach, see J.A. BERMAN, *Inconsistency in the Torah*. Ancient Literary Convention and the Limits of Source Criticism (New York 2017) esp. 201-226.

³⁵ *πᾶσαι ψυχὰι ἐξήκοντα ἕξ* in LXX Gen 46,26 is "simply taken over from the Hebrew" (WEVERS, *Greek Text of Genesis*, 786). The notice of Joseph's nine descendants (*οἱ δὲ Ἰωσήφ οἱ γενόμενοι αὐτῷ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ψυχὰι ἐννέα*, v. 27a), which is two more than those named in v. 21, is necessitated by the two figures, sixty-six and seventy-five (*ἐβδόμηκοντα πέντε*, v. 27b).

³⁶ While the resonance between **יצאי ירכו** in Gen 46,26 and **יצאי ירך יעקב** in Exod 1,5 suggests that these two phrases are from the same hand, one should also consider the recent argument that, as part of a secondary insertion, **יצאי ירכו** is borrowed from Exod 1,5 [P] in G.I. DAVIES, *Exodus 1-18*. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary. 2 vols (ICC; London 2020) 1:118-120.

³⁷ According to non-P, in contrast to P, Jacob makes the request for his burial in Canaan only to Joseph (Gen 47,29-31; 50,4-11); see CARR, *Fractures*, 95-96.

³⁸ Elsewhere in P, as the son of Hagar who was given to Abraham as a wife (**אשה**, Gen 16,3), Ishmael is present alongside his half-brother Isaac at Abraham's burial (25,9); see P.Y. YOO, "Hagar the Egyptian: Wife, Handmaid, and Concubine", *CBQ* 78 (2016) 215-235, here 231-232.

Leah (אשר נתן לבן ללאה בתו, 46,18; cf. 29,24 [non-P]) and Bilhah to Rachel (אשר נתן לבן לרחל בתו, 46,25; cf. 29,29 [non-P])³⁹, and Rachel is explicitly Jacob's wife (אשת יעקב, 46,19).

The redactional activity thus lies not in the figure seventy in Gen 46,27 but with sixty-six in v. 26⁴⁰. This solution does not require reading Jacob into Leah's thirty-three descendants, as expounded by Rashbam and Ibn Ezra. With the identification of Dinah in Gen 46,15 as additional to the base layer, a final question must be addressed: why did R not change the sub-total of Leah's children and grandchildren from thirty-three to thirty-four? Actually, such a change would have resulted in greater problems, especially after thirty-four is added to the other sub-totals: sixteen persons from Zilpah (v. 18), fourteen from Rachel (v. 22), and seven from Bilhah (v. 25). This would result in a sum that is *not* seventy. R could have remedied this problem with the addition of ואחד in v. 27, but the resulting grand total of seventy-one would not match the figure seventy elsewhere in Exod 1,5 and Deut 10,22. R inserted Dinah only into Gen 46,8-27 as one more name can be shielded within a list that already contained seventy names, and the addition of Dinah in the other records of Jacob's family, notably in Gen 35,22b-26 or Exod 1,1-5, would disrupt the significant motif of the twelve sons of Jacob — that is, the tribes of Israel — that recurs throughout the canonical text.

It was discussed above that by addressing some of the interpretative difficulties in the Hebrew text, the LXX-Genesis translator has produced what amounts to a record of Jacob's family that is distinct from MT-Genesis. The Hebrew text also presented challenges to the author of the mid-second-century BCE composition *Jubilees*⁴¹. The figure seventy was likewise important for the author of *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 44,33), but this author addressed some of the interpretative difficulties now found in MT Gen 46,8-27 by deleting, moving, or adding names, and revising the sub-totals for each matriarch. In *Jubilees*, Jacob has no great-grandsons when he descends into Egypt, and so the detail of Benjamin's ten sons in *Jub.* 44,25 follows MT Gen 46,21. The author of *Jubilees* resolves the chronological problem of Jacob's great-grandsons in MT Gen 46,12 (Herzon and Hamul) and in v. 17 (Heber and Malchiel) by eliminating

³⁹ In Gen 35,22 [J] Bilhah is Jacob's concubine (וישכב את בלהה פילגש אביו), and while the status of Zilpah and Bilhah in the non-P materials is a complicated matter, I am of the opinion that R's activity also includes the insertion of "Bilhah" into an original account of an unnamed concubine of Jacob.

⁴⁰ N. SARNA, *Genesis = Be-reshit*. The Traditional Hebrew Text with New JPS Translation (JPSTC; Philadelphia, PA 1989) 315.

⁴¹ For a full treatment, see J.C. VANDERKAM, *Jubilees 2. A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees, Chapters 22–50* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN 2018) 1095-1102.

them altogether. In *Jub.* 44,21, Asher has five children (four sons, one daughter) and not five children and two grandchildren (Gen 46,17). In *Jub.* 44,15, Judah has only three sons, not five sons and two grandsons (Gen 46,12), as the author of *Jubilees* not only omits Herzon and Hamul but also mentions Er and Onan *after* the seventy members of Jacob's family are recorded (*Jub.* 44,33), where Er and Onan are acknowledged as two of Judah's sons who died childless in Canaan (v. 34). The author of *Jubilees* records Dinah (*Jub.* 44,18) but does not include her among the seventy who arrived in Egypt since she has died due to her grief over Joseph (34,15-16)⁴². As a result, in *Jub.* 44,18, Leah has (when compared to MT, merely) twenty-nine sons and grandsons, and Jacob is added to raise this sub-total to thirty persons. With the omission of Er, Onan, and Jacob's great-grandsons Herzon, Hamul, Heber, and Malchiel, the author of *Jubilees* retains the figure seventy by adding five more grandchildren for Bilhah: five sons of Dan descended into Egypt (not the one son in Gen. 46,23 and resolving MT וּבְנֵי דָן הָשִׁים), with Hushim the only survivor during the year of their arrival (*Jub.* 44,28-29); and a fifth son of Naphtali, Ev, who was born after the years of famine and died in Egypt (vv. 30-31; cf. four sons in Gen 46,24). In a departure from Gen 46,8-27, the author of *Jubilees* provides two additional sub-totals: forty-four persons belong to Leah (*Jub.* 44,22), the sum of Leah's thirty persons (including Jacob in v. 18) and Zilpah's fourteen children and grandchildren; and twenty-six persons belong to Rachel (v. 32), the sum of Rachel's fourteen persons and Bilhah's twelve children and grandchildren.

* *

*

From the above discussion on the emergence of the separate lists of Jacob's family in MT Gen 46,8-27 and its LXX counterpart, an observation can be made on the process which led to the production of "the book of Genesis" that is reflected in MT and LXX. On the one hand, MT Gen 46,8-27 was shaped through the interweaving of source materials and redactional activity. On the other hand, LXX Gen 46,8-27 was formed by readings and interpretations of authoritative "books", among them a Hebrew text of the "book of Genesis" and the "book of Numbers". The process by which MT Gen 46,8-27 was shaped demonstrates that R's work resulted in a readable text but one that is not seamless. The record

⁴² Exactly what happens to Dinah remains an interpretative crux. In a post-biblical tradition, Dinah married Jobab (= Job), a descendant of Esau (cf. Gen 36,33); see *T. Job* 1,6; *Tg. Job* 1,5; *Ber.Rab.* 57,4; *b. B.Bat.* 15b.

of Jacob's family in Genesis 46 is informed by two originally independent portrayals of Jacob's family. The base layer of MT Gen 46,8-27, in addition to what precedes this record (specifically, v. 6), is P's record of Jacob's descendants, seventy members in all. Upon the compilation of P with the non-P materials, R revised this list in order to harmonize the originally independent P and non-P records of Jacob's family, choosing to preserve his source materials rather than discarding one in favor of the other. Among the differences between P and non-P, Dinah is either unknown to or not mentioned in P but features in the non-P accounts of Jacob's family. In preserving his sources, R weaved Dinah into the record of Jacob's seventy descendants. With the addition of Dinah, the Hebrew text that is reflected by MT Gen 46,8-27 is not a perfectly readable product, giving rise to interpretative gaps identified by its many readers including the LXX translator, the author to *Jubilees*, and some of the *amoraim* of the Babylonian Talmud, yet the redactor who shaped this text has nevertheless achieved his main objective: to preserve his source materials as fully, completely, and — in spite of the discrepancies in his source materials — as logically as possible.

APPENDIX: THE PRIESTLY BASE LAYER IN (MT) GEN 46,6-27

Key: regular = P ; *italic* = R

⁶ ויקחו את מקניהם ואת רכושם אשר רכשו בארץ כנען ויבאו מצרימה יעקב וכל זרעו
 אתו ⁷ בניו ובני בנותיו ובנות בניו וכל זרעו הביא אתו מצרימה ⁸ ואלה שמות בני
 ישראל הבאים מצרימה יעקב ובניו בכר יעקב ראובן ⁹ ובני ראובן חנוך ופלוז וחצרון
 וכרמי ¹⁰ ובני שמעון ימואל וימין ואהד ויכין וצחר ושואל בן הכנענית ¹¹ ובני לוי גרשון
 קהת ומררי ¹² ובני יהודה ער ואונן ושלמה ופרץ וזרח וימת ער ואונן בארץ כנען ויהיו בני
 פרץ חצרון וחמול ¹³ ובני יששכר תולע ופוע ויוב ושמרון ¹⁴ ובני זבולן סרד ואלון ויחלאל
¹⁵ אלה בני לאה אשר ילדה ליעקב בפדן ארם ואת דינה בתו כל נפש בניו ובנותיו שלשים
 ושלש ¹⁶ ובני גד צפיון וחגי שוני ואצבן ערי וארודי ואראלי ¹⁷ ובני אשר ימנה וישוה וישוי
 ובריעה ושרח אחתם ובני בריעה חבר ומלכיאל ¹⁸ אלה בני זלפה אשר נתן לבן ללאה בתו
 ותלד את אלה ליעקב שש עשרה נפש ¹⁹ בני רחל אשת יעקב יוסף ובנימין ²⁰ ויולד ליוסף
 בארץ מצרים אשר ילדה לו אסנת בת פוטי פרע כהן אן את מנשה ואת אפרים ²¹ ובני
 בנימין בלע ובכר ואשבבל גרא ונעמן אחי וראש מפים וחפים וארד ²² אלה בני רחל אשר
 ילד ליעקב כל נפש ארבעה עשר ²³ ובני דן חשים ²⁴ ובני נפתלי יחצאל וגוני ויצר ושלם
²⁵ אלה בני בלהה אשר נתן לבן לרחל בתו ותלד את אלה ליעקב כל נפש שבעה ²⁶ כל
 הנפש הבאה ליעקב מצרימה יצאי ירכו מלבד נשי בני יעקב כל נפש ששים ויש ²⁷ ובני יוסף
 אשר ילד לו במצרים נפש שנים כל הנפש לבית יעקב הבאה מצרימה שבעים

⁶ They took their cattle and their goods which they acquired in the land of Canaan, and they went to Egypt, Jacob and all his offspring with him, ⁷ his sons and his grandsons with him, and his daughters and granddaughters, and all his offspring he brought with him to Egypt. ⁸ These are the names of the Israelites who came

to Egypt, Jacob and his sons: Jacob's firstborn, Reuben — ⁹ the children of Reuben: Hanoch, Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi. ¹⁰ The children of Simeon: Jemuel, Jamin, Ohad, Jachin, Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanite woman. ¹¹ The children of Levi: Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. ¹² The children of Judah: Er, Onan, Shelah, Perez, and Zerah. Er and Onan died *in the land of Canaan*, and the children of Perez were Hezron and Hamul. ¹³ The children of Issachar: Tola, Puvah, Iob, and Shimron. ¹⁴ The children of Zebulun: Sered, Elon, and Jahleel. ¹⁵ These are the children of Leah who she bore to Jacob in Paddan-Aram, *and Dinah his daughter, his sons and daughters*: all thirty-three persons. ¹⁶ The children of Gad: Ziphion, Haggi, Shuni, Ezbon, Eri, Arodi, and Areli. ¹⁷ The children of Asher: Imnah, Ishvah, Ishvi, and Beriah, and their sister Serah. The children of Beriah: Heber and Malchiel. ¹⁸ These are the children of Zilpah, *who Laban gave to Leah his daughter*, and these she bore to Jacob: all sixteen persons. ¹⁹ The children of *Jacob's wife* Rachel: Joseph and Benjamin. ²⁰ To Joseph were born in the land of Egypt, who Aseneth daughter of Potiphera priest of On bore to him: Manasseh and Ephraim. ²¹ The children of Benjamin: Bela, Becher, Ashbel, Gera, Naaman, Ehi, Rosh, Muppim, Huppim, and Ard. ²² These are the children of Rachel who she bore to Jacob: all fourteen persons. ²³ The children of Dan: Hashum. ²⁴ The children of Naphtali: Jahzeel, Guni, Jezer, and Shillem. ²⁵ These are the children of Bilhah, *who Laban gave to Rachel his daughter*, and these she bore to Jacob: all seven persons. ²⁶ *All the persons who came to Egypt belonging to Jacob, who were his offspring, not including the wives of his sons, were sixty-six in all.* ²⁷ *The children of Joseph who were born to him in Egypt were two.* All the persons of Jacob's household who came to Egypt were seventy.

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SUMMARY

The record of Jacob's family members in Gen 46,8-27 contains well-known difficulties in the specific names and numbers. This article examines: (1) the differences in the names and numbers between MT and LXX; (2) the manner in which a redactor compiled the text from the source materials; and, (3) how the redactor's final product presented difficulties, including those of a chronological nature, to some of its earliest readers. The results of this article lead to the view that Dinah is not original to Gen 46,8-27, and that this report of Jacob's family consists of a Priestly base layer that underwent redactional activity.

“TODAY” IN DEUTERONOMY: A NARRATIVE METALEPSIS

I. INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL PRELIMINARIES

Deuteronomy, in its complete received form in Hebrew, unfolds within a remarkable unity of time, place, and action ¹. It is as though the authors — and the narrator — took pains to comply with the rules of classical theatre (inspired by Aristotle and formulated in Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century), requiring, precisely, a unity of time, place, and action in drama. “Let a single complete action, in one place and one day, keep the theater packed to the last”, wrote Nicolas Boileau in his *Art poétique* in 1674 (Song 3, v. 45).

Deuteronomy’s action boils down to Moses’ protracted act of communication on the last day of his life, announced in Deut 1,3 (“Moses spoke to the sons of Israel according to all that YHWH had commanded him about them”) and described as completed in 34,9, thanks to the mediation of his successor: “So the sons of Israel listened to [Joshua] and did as YHWH had commanded Moses”. Moses’ speeches are all delivered at the same place, which is actually the point of arrival of the journey told in the first speech: “So we remained in the valley opposite Beth-Peor” (3,29). At the end of the book, the prophet is buried by God at the place in question: “in a valley in the land of Moab, opposite Beth-Peor” (34,6). Deuteronomy’s unity of time is no less impressive ². The book’s overall drama takes place

¹ The present inquiry takes its clues from Deuteronomy’s Masoretic text (as documented in the Leningrad Codex, critically edited in C. MCCARTHY, *Deuteronomy* [BHQ 5; Stuttgart 2007]). It would make sense, of course, to take into consideration other plausible configurations of the text, representing reconstitutions of successive stages in the book’s protracted compositional history. The overall relevance of the expression “today” in Deuteronomy would have, indeed, a different import if the text were to be reconstituted in its original coherence, without possible P elements in its opening (about Deut 1,3, see S.R. DRIVER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* [Edinburgh ³1902] 7) or in its ending (for the presence of P elements in Deuteronomy 34, see P.Y. YOO, “The Four Moses Death Accounts”, *JBL* 131 [2012] 423-444, with reference to previous literature), if the theme of listening to the book (*sēper*) were to be considered as secondary with respect to a more original theme of “listening to the voice” (see L. PERLITT, *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament* [WMANT 36; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969] 42-45), or if the theme of generational change were not original to the earliest forms of the book (see J. STACKERT, “The Wilderness Period without Generation Change: The Deuteronomistic Portrait of Israel’s Forty-Year Journey”, *VT* 70 [2020] 1-26). Yet, before taking into account these alternative declinations of the Deuteronomistic text, a thorough exploration of the complete received Hebrew form of Deuteronomy is worth considering.

² Modern scholarship has addressed the issue of time (day) reference in the Hebrew Bible in different, complementary ways. See, for instance, the more general essays by S.J. DE

within a single day. The day in question is carefully identified in the first verses of the book thanks to an "objective" calendar reference: "In the fortieth year [after Horeb], on the first day of the eleventh month, Moses spoke to the sons of Israel" (1,3). As already mentioned, the day of Moses' long-winded speeches turns out to be the day of his death. In 32,48, "on the very day in question (בַּעֲצָם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה)", God gives Moses the order to go up on nearby Mount Nebo and to die there (v. 50), a death reported in Deuteronomy's last chapter (34,5-7) ³.

Deuteronomy's "classical" unity, however, is the stage of no less remarkable extensions in time, space, and action. The inner spring of these extensions is the book's art of coupling two levels of communication ⁴. As a "wheel within a wheel", Deuteronomy is indeed an act of communication within an act of communication. Moses' address to the second generation of the sons of Israel (after the Exodus) takes place within the narrator's address to the book's implied audience. In recent exegesis, the phenomenon of Deuteronomy's dual (inner and outer) communication has been extensively explored by Eckart Otto ⁵ and Dominik Markl, with special attention given to the historical identity of the book's audience in question, characterized as exilic/post-exilic, at the turning point of the people's return into the land ⁶. The double level of communication triggers a duplication in all three dimensions of place, time, and action — provided with appropriate gateways. While the addressees of Moses' speeches

VRIES, *Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*. Time and History in the Old Testament (Grand Rapids, MI 1975), and H. BLOCHER, "Yesterday, Today, Forever. Time, Times, Eternity in Biblical Perspective", *TynBul* 52 (2001) 183-202; or the specific studies by B.S. CHILDS, "A Study of the Formula, 'Until This Day'", *JBL* 82 (1963) 279-292, and by B. OIRY, *Le temps qui compte*. Construction et qualification du temps de l'histoire dans le récit des livres de Samuel (1 S 1-1 R 2) (BETL; Leuven) (forthcoming). About Deuteronomy, see in particular J.G. MILLAR, "Living at the Place of Decision. Time and Place in the Framework of Deuteronomy", J.G. McCONVILLE – J.G. MILLAR, *Time and Place in Deuteronomy* (JSOTSup 179; Sheffield 1994) 15-88; D. MARKL, *Gottes Volk im Deuteronomium* (BZAR 18; Wiesbaden 2012) 70-79; G. BRAULIK, "'Heute' im Buch Deuteronomium. Tora und Bundeschluss", IDEM, *Tora und Fest*. Aufsätze zum Deuteronomium und zur Liturgie (SBAB 69; Stuttgart 2019) 61-81.

³ See E. OTTO, *Deuteronomium*. Zweiter Teilband: 23,16 – 34,12 (HTKAT; Stuttgart 2017) 2172: "Dtn 32,48 datiert die den Tod des Moses ankündigende Gottesrede durch 'an genau diesem Tag' *b'eašəm hajjôm hazzəh* auf das Datum in Dtn 1,3".

⁴ See J.-P. SONNET, *The Book within the Book*. Writing in Deuteronomy (BibInt 14; Leiden 1997) 1.

⁵ Otto characterizes the two (internal and external) levels as *erzählte Zeit* ("narrated time") and *Erzählzeit* ("time of the narration"); see E. OTTO, *Deuteronomium 1-11*. Erster Teilband: 1,1 – 4,43 (HTKAT; Stuttgart 2017) 258.

⁶ See MARKL, *Gottes Volk*, 10-11; 291-295; IDEM, "No Future without Moses: The Disastrous End of 2 Kings 22-25 and the Chance of the Moab Covenant (Deuteronomy 29-30)", *JBL* 133 (2014) 711-728, here 722-724; OTTO, *Deuteronomium 1,1 – 4,43*, 258-280.

were on the brink of the land, poised to enter it, the book's addressees are poised to re-enter it. While Moses' *tôrâ* speech and *tôrâ* book were meant for his audience in Moab and for their descendants in the land, it is the book of Deuteronomy that actually conveys this *tôrâ* to the descendants in question, in their roles as readers and listeners. Deuteronomy's extension in time is perhaps the richest phenomenon of duplication in its way of tying foundational (represented) time and present (representing) time in the reader's/listener's world. This is not a surprise: as Lessing pointed out in his *Laokoon oder über die Grenzen der Mahlerey und Poesie* (1766), poetry and narration are both arts of time, experts in temporal juggling⁷. As will be argued in these pages, the expression "today" is the most efficient expedient of Deuteronomy's shuffling between its temporal back- and foregrounds (with all the intermediate levels). It is simultaneously the touchstone of the contrast between periods and the operator of their progressive, and meaningful, fusing. The concept of metalepsis, as defined by Gérard Genette in his essay *Narrative Discourse*, will allow a critical description of this temporal shuffling and fusing which represents Deuteronomy's most characteristic semiotic effectualness⁸.

Deuteronomy's specific achievement actually conforms to a typical trope in biblical narrative. When it tells history, biblical narrative regularly links up two temporal poles: the pole of the narrated history and the pole of the reception of the narration in question. The issue at stake is to correlate the foundational past, what happened "on that day (ביום ההוא)", and the reader's present, what is in force "up to this day (עד היום הזה)", the day of the reader's reception⁹. In other words, etiology is a key phenomenon, if not the key phenomenon, in biblical historiography. So it is in Gen 26,32-33, where the temporal arc stands out in its full extension: "That day (ביום ההוא) Isaac's servants came and told him about the well that they had dug, and said to him, 'We have found water!' He called it Shibah; therefore the name of the city is Beer-Sheba up to this day (עד היום הזה)"¹⁰. In Deuteronomy, this bipolar scheme receives an unprecedented development, unprecedented in sophistication and efficiency. In his telling of history, the narrator refers to what happened "in that day (ביום ההוא)" (see Deut 27,11; 31,22), and correlates founding events to

⁷ See M. STERNBERG, "Telling in Time (II): Chronology, Teleology, Narrativity", *Poetics Today* 11 (1990) 901-948.

⁸ See G. GENETTE, *Narrative Discourse. An Essay in Method* (Ithaca, NY 1980) 234-236; see below, section II. 6.

⁹ See J.-P. SONNET, "'In quel giorno', 'Fino a questo giorno': L'arco della comunicazione narrativa nella Bibbia ebraica", *Rivista Liturgica* 105 (2018) 13-41.

¹⁰ Beer-Sheva had received its name a first time in Gen 21,22-26 in a distinct etiology.

their effect "up to this day (עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה)" (34,6; see also 2,22; 3,14; 11,4). Interestingly enough, Moses' (embedded) speeches strive to carry out an analogous bridging, epitomized in the contrast of two phrases: "in that time (בְּעֵת הַהוּא)" ¹¹ — "up to this day (עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה)" (10,8; 29,3) ¹². Both the narrator and Moses are thus engaged in connecting foundational time and present time, for their respective addressees. Are the two endeavors meant to coalesce? In what way?

As shown in Chart 1, the issue involves distinct aspects in the narrator's and Moses' acts of communication. The narrator is engaged in *history telling*, where a day in the past — the day specified in Deut 1,3 — is a day in the past. Moses enters the stage as a history teller himself (in Deuteronomy 1–3) before focusing on the very day of his communication in Moab, elaborated as "today", in a tight *rhetorical* address (from Deuteronomy 4 on). Moses' (embedded) speeches, however, never depart from the (embedding) narrator's act of communication in its *pragmatic* dimension, that is, in its relation with the book's actual readers and listeners (see Chart 1).

Chart 1

Narrator: HISTORY TELLING	in that day	PRAGMATICS → reader's	today
Moses: HISTORY TELLING ₂	in that time	RHETORIC → present and future addressees'	today

The key aspect that underpins the rhetorical and pragmatic use of "today" in Deuteronomy is its deictic value. The phrase "today (הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה or הַיּוֹם)" and its variants, "up to this day (עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה)" and "like to this day (כִּיּוֹם הַזֶּה)", all belong to the deixis of biblical Hebrew. As the pioneering studies of Émile Benveniste and Roman Jakobson have indicated, the deictic elements of language have a specific way of referring which ties them to

¹¹ See Deut 1,9.16.18; 2,34; 3,4.8.12.18.21.23; 4,14; 5,5; 9,20; 10,1. In all these cases, Moses takes advantage of the loose temporal reference of the phrase בְּעֵת הַהוּא, "at that time", for the sake of his demonstration; see J.-P. SONNET, "'It Was at that Time that...': The Rhetorical Use of the Formula בְּעֵת הַהוּא in Deuteronomy", *ZAR* 26 (2020) 273-290. Next to the "time" period in question, Moses also tells of significant day(s) in the past (see 1,46; 2,1.14; 2,10.15; 4,32; 9,11.25; 10,4.10; etc.).

¹² Commenting on the role of the phrase בְּעֵת הַהוּא in Deut 1,16, Robert Alter points to its relevance in Deuteronomy's overall rhetoric: "This seemingly minor deictic gesture, 'at that time, *ba'et hahi*', reflects an important, and recurring rhetorical strategy in the book. There is no biblical text more generous than Deuteronomy in its use of demonstrative pronouns. 'At that time' temporally positions both Moses and his audience in relation to the legal injunction he is delivering: you heard it then, the phrase tells us, or at any rate your parents, now died out, heard it, and its imperative force is exactly the same now as I repeat this injunction — and, again, it will be the same when these words of Moses are read out to their audience in the seventh century or later" (that is, to the audience of the book of Deuteronomy) (R. ALTER, *The Hebrew Bible. A Translation with Commentary* [New York 2018] 610).

the event of their enunciation and reception. “The indicators of deixis”, Benveniste writes, “organize the spatial and temporal relations around the ‘subject’ taken as a point of reference: ‘this, here, now’ and their numerous correlates ‘that, yesterday, last year, tomorrow, etc.’”¹³. In other words, “Whoever says ‘now, today, in this moment’ locates an event as simultaneous with his/her discourse”¹⁴. The *modus operandi* of a deictic thus includes a kind of pointing¹⁵, always relative to its actual speaker (the so-called “deictic center”) in his/her spatial and temporal situation.

In biblical Hebrew, the key deictic is the pronoun זה (“this”) which, in most cases, points to that which is nearby, as in היום הזה, “today, this very day”. It contrasts with the pronoun הוא, “that”, which refers to distant realities in time and space, as in ביום ההוא, “in that day”¹⁶. The deictic pointing, however, can also refer to elements mentioned in the ongoing speech, either earlier (“anaphora”) or later (“cataphora”). The pointer הוא, in particular, can be used as anaphora: in many cases “in that day” means “in the aforementioned day”, and so is it in Deuteronomy where the expression “in that day (ביום ההוא)” used by the narrator in 27,11 and 31,22 refers to the (remote) day singled out in 1,3, the day of Moses’ speeches in Moab. Analogously, the marker זה, “this”, functions in some instances as an anaphora; this is the case in 32,48 when the narrator uses the phrase בעצם היום הזה, “precisely in this day”, to refer anaphorically to the day established in 1,3.

In conversational and literary contexts, the temporal deictics can enter complex linguistic constructions, in particular when they are quoted in past or future speeches emanating from various speakers. It is then up to the addressee to disambiguate the respective uses thanks to his/her linguistic competence and attention to context. In some cases, however, the need for disambiguation may be offset by intended ambiguity: calculated

¹³ E. BENVENISTE, *Problèmes de linguistique générale*. Vol. 1 (Paris 1966) 262 (my translation); see also R. JAKOBSON, “Shifters and Verbal Categories”, *On Language* (eds. L.R. WAUGH – M. MONVILLE-BURSTON) (Cambridge, MA 1990) 386-392; S.C. LEVINSON, “Deixis”, *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*. Vol. 2 (eds. R.E. ASHER – J.M.Y. SIMPSON) (Oxford 1994) 853-857.

¹⁴ E. BENVENISTE, “Le langage et l’expérience humaine”, *Diogenes* n° 51, July-September (1965) 3-13, here 11 (my translation).

¹⁵ It actually includes a form of physical gesture — the word deixis derives from δειξις, the Greek word for “pointing”.

¹⁶ The paragraph echoes the standard presentation of the deictic system in biblical Hebrew, contrasting “near” (or “proximal”) and “distant” (or “distal”) pronouns; see BHRG² §36.2. Cf., however, the discussion in D. KUMMEROW, “Anaphora and Deixis in Tiberian Hebrew: Semantically Mapping the Case for a Distance-Neutral Demonstrative”, *Hiphil Novum* 1/2 (2014) 1-53. KUMMEROW opts for another categorization: “the זה paradigm is a distance-neutral demonstrative and the הוא paradigm is prototypically anaphoric” (p. 42).

uses of deictics can trigger temporal cross references, and this is (also) the case in Deuteronomy.

In the following sections, Deuteronomy's dynamic in its use of "today" will be characterized in seven successive steps. The exposition will strive to stick to the text continuum, with some anticipations and resumptions for the sake of presentation. What really counts in a narrative is submitted to progression, in a constant dialectic between primacy effect ("the tendency for facts, impressions, or items that are presented first to be better learned or remembered than material presented later in the sequence" ¹⁷) and recency effect ("a memory phenomenon in which the most recently presented facts, impressions, or items are learned or remembered better than material presented earlier" ¹⁸). The "today" issue in Deuteronomy thus enters the book's narrative progression, the "natural early-to-late development with its openness to untimely, crooked disclosure" ¹⁹.

II. "TODAY" IN DEUTERONOMY: A SEQUENTIAL READING

1. *Disjointed "todays" in Deuteronomy 1–3*

The first mentions of "today" in Deuteronomy, by Moses and by the narrator, project distant and uncoordinated time frames. Whereas the narrator has carefully spelled out the day of Moses' speech in Deut 1,3, Moses himself, in his first uses of "today", does not refer to the day in question. He rather quotes earlier personal uses of the expression in Israel's past, in successive stages of the people's eventful progression from Horeb to Moab. "At that time I said to you: YHWH your God has multiplied you, so that *today* you are as numerous as the stars of heaven" (Deut 1,10; see also 1,39; 2,18.25). On the other hand, the narrator, in the second of his "frame breaks" (the interpolated notices that provide ethnographic and historical data as a background to Moses' speech) introduces a distinct "today". The temporal deictic in this case refers to the narrator-reader/

¹⁷ APA Dictionary of Psychology (<https://dictionary.apa.org/primacy-effects>). See A.S. LUCHINS, "Definiteness of Impression and Primacy-Recency in Communication", *Journal of Social Psychology* (1958) 48, 275-290; see also the narratological elaboration in M. STERNBERG, *Expositional Modes and Temporal Ordering in Fiction* (Baltimore, MD 1978) 93-102.

¹⁸ APA Dictionary of Psychology (<https://dictionary.apa.org/recency-effect>). For the relevance of both effects in a literary work, see M. PERRY, "Literary Dynamics: How the Order of a Text Creates its Meaning", *Poetics Today* 1 (1979) 35-64, 311-361, particularly 53-58.

¹⁹ M. STERNBERG, "How Narrativity Makes a Difference", *Narrative* 9 (2001) 115-122, here 117.

listener time frame: “(God) did the same for the descendants of Esau, who live in Seir, by destroying the Horim before them so that they could dispossess them and settle in their place even *to this day* (עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה)” (2,22; see the second use in 3,14). The initially invoked “(to)days” thus belong to distant periods, within and without Deuteronomy’s narrated world, at one remove from Moses’ actual existential “today” (see Chart 2). One wonders: will the ensuing narrative keep apart these distinct temporal frames? Notwithstanding the initial distance, does the echoing of the same word, “today”, presage a convergence of the days in question?

Chart 2



Moses actually introduces a subtle dynamic in his telling of history, which eventuates in a first deictic temporal shifting. In Deut 1,39, in his rehearsing of the people’s rebellion at Kadesh Barnea after the mission of the twelve spies, the prophet tells that he had to confront the dissident people with a generational issue: “And as for your little ones, who you thought would become booty, your children, who *today* do not yet know right from wrong (טוב ורע), they shall enter there; to them I will give it, and they shall take possession of it”. The sons and daughters in question, the second generation after the Exodus, are actually the ones who attend Moses’ speeches in Moab. The “today” in the past is thus not without ties with the present one²⁰. Further on in his speech, in Deut 2,30, Moses explicitly associates the survival of the second generation with the deictic “today”. Telling of God’s intervention against Sihon, king of Heshbon, who was obstructing the people’s way, Moses refers to the people’s present situation, to their listening to him “today”, as the token of God’s action: “King Sihon of Heshbon was not willing to let us pass through, for YHWH your God had hardened his spirit and made his heart defiant in order to hand him over to you, as [is the case] *today* (כיום הזה)”. The motif becomes even more explicit in 4,4, when Moses evokes the elimination of the people who followed Baal-Peor (4,3-4; cf. Num 25,1-9). The prophet contrasts their fate with that of his actual audience: “while those of you who held fast to YHWH your God are all alive *today*” (v. 4)²¹.

²⁰ As the reader will find out in Moses’ last speech (Deut 30,15), the generation in question will have to choose between “right” and “wrong” (הטוב ... הרע) in an adult life choice repeatedly staged as happening “today” (30,2.8.11.15.16.18.19).

²¹ See D. MARKL, “This Word is Your Life: The Theology of ‘Life’ in Deuteronomy”, *Gottes Wort im Menschenwort*. Festschrift für Georg Fischer SJ zum 60. Geburtstag (eds. D. MARKL – C. PAGANINI – S. PAGANINI) (ÖBS 43; Frankfurt am Main 2014) 71-96, here 78.

A motif has been progressively introduced, which ties up "today" with the theme of the life of Moses' addressees.

Up to this point, however, Deuteronomy's two main temporal spheres — the time of Moses' speeches and the one of the narrator's communication — remain unconnected. While the use of the deictic temporal marker by Moses and by the narrator echo each other, no process of convergence is so far perceptible ²².

2. *The Moab "today"*

A rhetorical turn takes place in Deut 4,8. From this verse on, Moses' use of "today" almost exclusively refers to the day of his teaching in Moab: "What other great nation has statutes and ordinances as just as this entire *tôrâ* that I am setting before you *today*?" (4,8); "Keep his statutes and his commandments, which I am commanding you *today*" (4:40). In a total of twenty-eight instances, the "today" expression enters what Norbert Lohfink has characterized as Deuteronomy's promulgation formula ²³. What makes the "first day of the eleventh month" unique is Moses' imparting of his *tôrâ* to the second generation, as a preamble to their crossing of the Jordan River. The same day is, symmetrically, the day of the reception of the *tôrâ* by the generation in question, a process regularly emphasized by Moses: "So acknowledge *today* and take to heart that YHWH is God in heaven above and on the earth beneath; there is no other" (4,39; cf. 9,3; 11,2; etc.); "you must diligently observe all the statutes and ordinances that I am setting before you *today*" (11,32).

As Markl points out, the use of "today" in Deuteronomy is also characteristic of a set of illocutionary utterances whereby Moses cautions the people: "I call heaven and earth to witness against you *today*" (4,26; cf. 30,19); "I solemnly warn you *today* that you shall surely perish" (8,19; cf. 30,18); "see, I am setting before you *today* a blessing and a curse" (11,26; cf. 30,15); "take to heart all the words that I am giving in witness against you *today*" (32,46). In multiple ways, the speech acts in question enhance the seriousness of Israel's response to the covenant deal ²⁴.

²² As Otto points out, Moses' use of "as today (כיום הוזה)" in Deut 2,30 in the context of Israel's emancipation from Heshbon sounds like a counterpoint to the narrator's use of "up to this day (עד היום הוזה)" in the ethnographic notices in 2,22 and 3,14; see OTTO, *Deuteronomium 1,1 – 4,43*, 473.

²³ N. LOHFINK, *Das Hauptgebot. Eine Untersuchung literarischer Einleitungsfragen zu Dtn 5–11* (AnBib 20; Roma 1963) 59–63. See also MARKL, *Gottes Volk*, 72–73. The promulgation formula is present in Deut 4,8,40; 5,1; 6,6; 7,11; 8,1,11; 10,13; 11,8,13,27,28,32; 13,19; 15,5; 19,9; 27,1,4,10; 28,1,13,14,15; 30,2,8,11,16; 32,46.

²⁴ See MARKL, *Gottes Volk*, 73–74.

Both the promulgation of the *tôrâ* and the cautionary utterances, Markl goes on, converge in a third kind of phrase, equally marked off by mentions of “today”: the references to the making of the covenant in Moab ²⁵. “You stand assembled *today*, all of you, before YHWH your God [...] to enter into the covenant of YHWH your God, sworn by an oath, which YHWH your God is making with you *today*” (Deut 29,10-12; see also 5,3; 26,16. 17.18; 29,14-15). Along with the cautionary speech acts, the references to the covenant making are concentrated in the final stages of Moses’ communication act (Deuteronomy 26–30), urging the people to make the right choice “today”.

The repetition of “today” in promulgation, cautionary, and covenantal sentences gives Deuteronomy its distinctive ring and enhances its unity in time and action. Yet, as already said, the unity in question turns out to be multilayered. As will now be explained, “today” in Moses’ speeches embraces more than a single day.

3. “Today”, between Horeb and Moab

Behind and beyond Deuteronomy’s Moab “today”, other “(to)days” are looming in the prophet’s speeches. The solemn and pressing day of the covenant in Moab is first of all pervaded by a more foundational one, the Horeb “today”. In his rehearsing of the Horeb event in Deuteronomy 5, Moses reports the exclamation of the people in front of the theophany on the mountain: “Look, YHWH our God has shown us his glory and greatness, and we have heard his voice out of the fire. *Today* we have seen that God may speak to someone and the person may still live” (Deut 5,24). A significant deflection actually affects the quote in question. Whereas the exclamation fits the experience of the first generation, the actual witness of the theophany, it is rhetorically transferred by Moses to the second generation, the “you” of his ongoing address: “When *you* heard the voice out of the darkness, while the mountain was burning with fire, *you* approached me, all the heads of your tribes and your elders; and *you* said: ‘[...] *Today* we have seen that God may speak to someone and the person may still live’” (Deut 5,23-24) ²⁶.

The “today” of Horeb is, of course, the day of the theophany that took place forty years earlier, to the benefit of the generation of the fathers, but it is stretched out by Moses so as to include the generation of the

²⁵ See MARKL, *Gottes Volk*, 74-75.

²⁶ Here too, “today” is associated by Moses with the theme of the people’s survival (see 2,30; 4,4).

sons ²⁷. Two symmetrical forces converge in this wonder: the "excessive" actuality of the founding "today" and what could be called the Deuteronomic "privilege of the actual listener". The Israelites of the second generation did not attend Horeb, yet, since they are listening to Moses, they become the intended addressees of the theophany. Moses speaks to them *as though* they were present at Horeb and establishes them as eyewitnesses of events they did not attend: "Be careful, and watch yourselves closely so that you do not forget the things your eyes have seen [at Horeb]" (4,9) ²⁸. Moses does not draw back from any rhetorical audacity in order to accentuate this privilege, which entails a proportionate responsibility. He goes so far as to say, "It was not with our fathers that YHWH made this covenant, but with us, with all of us who are alive here *today*" (5,3). In the partnership in question, Moses mediates to his addressees dispositions of perception and understanding without precedent:

You have seen all that YHWH did before your eyes in the land of Egypt, to Pharaoh and to all his servants and to all his land, the great trials that your eyes saw, the signs, and those great wonders. But YHWH has not given you a mind to understand, or eyes to see, or ears to hear *until this day* (עד היום הזה) (29,2-4).

The experience of Moses' listeners thus becomes richer than the empirical founding experience because of God's "opening" of the people's faculties of perception, thanks to Moses' mediation in his teaching ²⁹. Albeit second in time and hierarchy, the Moab "today" actualizes and fulfills the Horeb one, for the sake of the privileged partners in the imminent covenant.

In Moses' speeches, the rhetorical transfer from "today" in the past (at Horeb) to "today" in the present (in Moab) is reiterated along the arrow of time, from the present "today" to future ones. Just as the Horeb covenant, the Moab covenant is "excessive": it also occurs for the sake of the ones who were not empirically present as Moses' addressees. The Moab

²⁷ About this rhetorical "blurring of generations" into a single, "corporate personality", see M. WEINFELD, *Deuteronomy 1–11* (AB 5; New York 1991) 238.

²⁸ As Ryan O'Dowd aptly points out, "Moses addresses the children as witnesses of these events. The repeated anachronism does more than simply remember the events for the younger generation, but gives all future generations a memory in which the realities and unique identity of the original participants become their own [...] In this way Deuteronomy is saying that each generation can realise the original relationship between God and their fathers. This is to remember Horeb in a way that it becomes present, powerful and real" (R. O'DOWD, *The Wisdom of Torah*. Epistemology in Deuteronomy and the Wisdom Literature [FRLANT 225; Göttingen 2009] 33).

²⁹ This opening will find its final expression in the theme of the "circumcision of the heart" (Deut 30,6); see E. EHRENREICH, "*Wähle das Leben!*". Deuteronomium 30 als hermeneutischer Schlüssel zur Tora (BZAR 14; Wiesbaden 2010) 156-179.

covenant, Moses explains, is concluded not only with the generation he addresses “today” but also “with the one who is not there with us today” (29,14; see vv. 9-14; cf. 32,46).

4. “Today” in the Future

From the vantage point of his address in the plains of Moab, Moses projects scenarios in the future, where subsequent “todays” are mentioned in preproductive citations³⁰. Moses’ covenantal plea is thus associated with future “todays” which represent for his addressees meaningful incentives to make — here and now — the right choice. These future “todays”, however, are particularly meaningful to the readers of Deuteronomy, situated in the future in question. Moses’ forward-oriented rhetoric is, indeed, most efficient in the narrator’s overall strategy to reach out to the book’s readers/listeners (see Chart 3). As the following paragraphs will indicate, the scheme in question intensifies at the end of Moses’ entreaty.

Chart 3



A first future “today” appears in Moses’ protracted paraenesis on the first commandment in Deuteronomy 6–8. In 6,24, in a set of “pre-productive” citations, Moses anticipates the father’s answer to the son who will ask him about the meaning of God’s commandments: YHWH has given us his *tôrâ*, the father will answer, “so as to keep us alive, as is the case *today*”. The theme of the people’s survival emphasized by Moses in 4,4, with respect to his addressees in Moab (“all alive *today*”), is now projected into a future “today”. The proleptic statement about the people still “alive” is a powerful incentive for both Moses’ addressees and the book’s addressees: the observance of the *tôrâ* is what sustains the people’s life throughout time.

In Deut 26,1-11, Moses sets up a first-fruit ritual offering that will take place when the people settle in the promised land. To the priest who will

³⁰ In the case of “preproductive citation” (vs. “reproductive citation”), Sternberg writes, “The act of quotation precedes rather than follows the act of delivering (‘producing’) the quoted speech” (M. STERNBERG, “Proteus in Quotation Land”, *Poetics Today* 3 [1982] 107-156, here 138); see J.-P. SONNET, “Paroles dites, paroles à dire. Variations sur le discours cité”, *La contribution du discours à la caractérisation des personnages bibliques*. Neuvième colloque international du RRENAB, Louvain-la-Neuve, 31 mai - 2 juin 2018 (ed. A. WÉNIN) (BETL 311; Leuven 2020) 127-134.

receive the offering, the Israelite will then declare: "*Today* I declare to YHWH your God that I have come into the land that YHWH swore to our ancestors to give us" (v. 3). The "today" in question is situated in a future that Moses will not know and in a space into which Moses will not enter — the space and the time of Israel's existence on the land of Israel, under the Mosaic *tôrâ*. This liminal ritual is not meant to be repeated. Yet it is particularly meaningful for the exilic/post-exilic Israelite (and Deuteronomy's reader/listener), called to repeat the first entrance into the land ³¹.

A very different "today" shows up in Deut 29,21-27, since it is (symmetrically) associated with the loss of the land. In his quality as prophet, Moses projects questions that "the next generation, your children who rise up after you, as well as the foreigner who comes from a distant country" will raise (v. 21) about the devastation and the afflictions of the land; a voice will answer, "It is because they abandoned the covenant of YHWH [...] [that] YHWH uprooted them from their land in anger, fury, and great wrath, and cast them into another land, as is *today* [the case] (כיום הזה)" (vv. 24-27). The exile is thus looming in such a scenario. If it belongs to future history for Moses' addressees, it is a part of immediate history for Deuteronomy's historical readers.

It is worth observing that Moses rehearses the motif in question in Deuteronomy 30, in a scenario of exile and return from exile (echoing a first elaboration of the theme in Deut 4,25-31). The prophet contemplates a contingency in which the people will be "among the nations" (v. 1) before being gathered from an exile "to the ends of the world" (v. 4). In so speaking, Moses envisions a situation that, once more, overlaps with the situation of Deuteronomy's exilic/post-exilic readers. Moses, in his address, is out of direct touch with the readers/listeners of the book, but Deuteronomy's narrative architecture creates at this point a powerful analogy: just as Moses' addressees, about to enter the land, are called to a covenantal commitment "today", the readers of the book are called to a similar commitment "today" while re-entering the land ³². The urgency

³¹ See in particular W.G. PLAUT, *The Torah. Deuteronomy. A Modern Commentary* V (New York 1983) 287.

³² See MARKL, *Gottes Volk*, 88-125; cf. IDEM, "Deuteronomy's Frameworks in Service of the Law (Deut 1-11; 26-34)", *Deuteronomium. Tora für eine neue Generation* (eds G. FISCHER – D. MARKL – S. PAGANINI) (BZAR 17; Wiesbaden 2011) 271-283, particularly 278. See also G. PAPOLA, *L'alleanza di Moab*. Studio esegetico teologico di Dt 28,69 – 30,20 (AnBib 174; Roma 2008) 272-276. I owe to one of this paper's anonymous reviewers a perceptive question about the relevance of the entering/re-entering analogy for "readers that are not re-entering the land in a concrete sense". I surmise that, here as elsewhere, the Bible brings into play scenarios that are existential as much as historical.

of the choice to be made “this very day” by Moses’ addressees thus reaches out, by rhetorical contagion, to the readers/listeners of the book. The distinct temporal realms are drawing near — asymptotically near.

5. *A Floating Answer*

As previously said, Moses’ rhetoric in Deuteronomy culminates in a number of passages that “dramatize” the decision to be made by the people and which are set in discursive contexts emphasized by repeated “today” references. The decision in question, however, turns out to be somehow hanging: the actual, performative speech act of the people’s response is not reported as such. In this Deuteronomy sharply contrasts with Exodus. In Exodus 24, the commitment by the people is quoted twice in first person plural (vv. 3 and 7; see also 19,8) and is duly introduced by the narrator in its historical contingency and performative effectiveness: “and all the people answered with one voice, and said, ‘All the words that YHWH has spoken we will do’” (v. 3). Not so in Deuteronomy, where the historical response by the people is nowhere to be found. What Deuteronomy’s reader/listener does find is an *echo* to such a commitment, in the double cross-oath, divine and human, mentioned in Deut 26,16-19:

Today YHWH your God is commanding you to observe these statutes and ordinances; so observe them diligently with all your heart and with all your soul. *Today* you have obtained YHWH’s agreement: to be your God, and for you to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, his commandments, and his ordinances, and to obey him. *Today* YHWH has obtained your agreement: to be his treasured people, as he promised you, and to keep his commandments; for him to set you high above all nations that he has made, in praise and in fame and in honor; and for you to be a people holy to YHWH your God, as he promised.

Moses refers to the double oath (here translated “agreement”) performed “today”, yet without reporting and quoting the speech acts that have established the oath in question ³³, and the narrator is altogether

The script of crossing (the river) and entering (the land, the covenant) is powerful enough to function as an imaginative paradigm for the people’s renewed commitment to the covenant at any stage of history and in whatever condition. The Jordan River, as Paul Beauchamp writes, is “ce fleuve toujours franchi, jamais franchi” (P. BEAUCHAMP, *L’un et l’autre Testament. Essai de lecture* [Paris 1976] 60).

³³ In a recent essay, Georg Braulik has provided a thoughtful survey of the occurrences and functions of the expression “today” in Deuteronomy (G. BRAULIK, “‘Heute’ im Buch Deuteronomium. Tora und Bundesschluss”, *Bibel und Liturgie* 90 [2017] 11-22, reprinted in his *Tora und Fest. Aufsätze zum Deuteronomium und zur Liturgie* [SBAB 69; Stuttgart 2019] 61-81). The inquiry is particularly attentive, and with good reason, to the correlated use of performatives in Moses’ speeches. In that sense, Braulik sees in the oath mentioned

silent in this regard. The result of the gap is an effect of suspension that triggers curiosity³⁴: will the people's commissive utterance be made explicit at some point later in the text? How will it be performed?

The same phenomenon is observed in Moses' speech in Deuteronomy 29, a speech that focuses on the people's imminent covenantal commitment: "You stand assembled *today*, all of you, before YHWH your God [...] to enter into the covenant of YHWH your God, sworn by an oath, which YHWH your God is making with you *today*" (29,9-11). The conclusion of the covenant is presented as impending, without any reporting, however, of its actual performance. Here too, the gapping creates expectations: will the imminent ("today") oath be reported in one way or another?

A possible candidate for such a commitment is found in Deut 29,28, just after the mention of the catastrophic future "today" in v. 27 (in a scenario comparable to the situation of Deuteronomy's implied readers). In an unIntroduced statement, a pledge is formulated in first person plural: "The hidden things belong to YHWH our God, but the revealed things belong to us and to our children forever, to observe all the words of this *tôrâ*" (29,28). Whereas the mysterious "hidden things" are unfathomable³⁵, the "revealed things" amount to the *tôrâ* disclosed by Moses. With Markl, it is tempting to read the utterance as a ready-made response: "it aims at the self-commitment of a we-group to obey the torah; therefore, the verse may have a function for the making of the Moab covenant that is comparable to the consent and ratification of Israel in the making of the Sinai covenant (Exod 19,8; 24,3.7)"³⁶. It is, however, a "floating" commitment: in contrast to the ratifications by the people in Exodus 19 and 24, which are firmly anchored in the historical narration, the utterance in Deut 29,28

in Deut 26,16-19 a decisive performative step in the conclusion of the covenant (in association with 27,1.9) (pp. 74-75). It must be observed, however, that the *mention* of a performative act ("today you have obtained YHWH's agreement", "today YHWH has obtained your agreement") cannot have the commissive value of the performative utterances in question, expressed in first person (cf. Exod 24,3.7). Braulik actually recognizes the point when, commenting on Moses' injunctions in 29,9-14 (particularly v. 12: "to enter into the covenant of YHWH your God, sworn by an oath, which YHWH your God is making with you today"), he adds that these utterances "sprechen vom Bund, vollziehen ihn aber noch nicht" (p. 77).

³⁴ A symmetrical phenomenon is present in Deut 27,9: "Keep silence and hear, O Israel! *This very day* you have become the people of YHWH your God". God's initiative is mentioned by Moses and the Levites without any reporting of God's constitutive speech act.

³⁵ For a thorough treatment of the verse, see A. LENZI, *Secrecy and the Gods*. Secret Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia and Biblical Israel (SAAS 19; Helsinki 2008) 322-339.

³⁶ D. MARKL, "No Future without Moses", 14 n. 43. See IDEM, *Gottes Volk*, 104-107.

is introduced neither by Moses nor by the narrator; the “we” has no antecedent in the preceding narrative. The verse appears without any explicit tie with the narrated time, and therefore it marks itself as open to an appropriation by the book’s readers/listeners. It is best seen as a prompter, meant to catalyze a response by an inclusive “we”-group.

Moses’ exhortation, urging a commitment by the people “today”, culminates in Deuteronomy 30, in a pressing invitation to choose life (v. 19)³⁷. Seven references to “today” hammer Moses’ plea (vv. 2, 8, 11, 15, 16, 18, 19). For the generation that did not know “right from wrong (טוב ורע)” (4,4), the moment of truth has come:

See, I have set before you *today* life and right (הטוב), death and wrong (הרע). If you obey the commandments of YHWH your God that I am commanding you *today*, by loving YHWH your God, walking in his ways, and observing his commandments, decrees, and ordinances, then you shall live and become numerous, and YHWH your God will bless you in the land that you are entering to possess (30,15-16).

“Despite this forceful rhetorical demand”, Markl writes, “we are not told in Deuteronomy about Israel’s response”³⁸. Once again, the commitment expected “today” is the object of a gap. Moses’ silence about his addressees’ performative response here compounds with the narrator’s reticence. By choosing a non-reporting of the actual commitment of the people, “Deuteronomy achieves the tour de force of recording a covenant that took place once and for all while presenting it as still dependent on the reader’s reception”³⁹. In such a context, the “we” commitment of 29,28 (“the revealed things belong to us and to our children forever, to observe all the words of this *tôrâ*”) stands out all the more as a response expected by Deuteronomy of its readers and listeners. The appropriation of the commitment by actual readers/listeners represents a remarkable passage from one realm to the other, from Moses’ address in Deuteronomy’s represented world to the world of the book’s reception. The phenomenon in question calls for a more precise description.

6. “*This day*” and “*this sēper*”: Synergy in *Metalepsis*

Deuteronomy’s represented “today” is poised in such a way that it prompts its appropriation by the readers and listeners of the book. It works

³⁷ See the perspicacious analysis in EHRENREICH, *Wähle das Leben!*, 211-271.

³⁸ D. MARKL, “No Future without Moses”, 723-724.

³⁹ SONNET, *Book*, 246; see also MARKL, *Gottes Volk*, 109-111; IDEM, “God’s Covenants with Humanity and Israel”, *The Hebrew Bible. A Critical Companion* (ed. J. BARTON) (Princeton, NJ 2016) 312-337, here 322-323.

in that sense as what Gérard Genette calls "un opérateur de metalepse"⁴⁰. "From a functional point of view," as Peter von Möllendorff writes in an essay about narrative metalepsis in classical literature, "metalepsis can be defined as the shift of a figure within a text (usually a character or a narrator) from one narrative level to another, marking a transgression of ontological borders"⁴¹. Metalepsis, Dorrit Cohn adds, therefore "designates the transgression of a line of demarcation that authors usually do not touch, namely the 'shifting but sacred frontier between two worlds, the world in which one tells, the world of which one tells'"⁴². "Today" prompts such a transgression in Deuteronomy, and it can be said that it represents the book's climax.

It is important to observe that another deictic expression, namely the core phrase **בספר הזה**, "in this record", joins force with "today" in Deuteronomy 28–30 to trigger the metalepsis just mentioned. Moses' speech in these chapters is scanned by six references to a written covenantal document: "all the words of this *tôrâ* written in this record (**בספר הזה**)" (28,58); "every kind of sickness and disaster not recorded in the record of this *tôrâ* (**בספר התורה הזאת**)" (28,61); "all the curses written in this record (**בספר הזה**)" (29,19); "all the curses of the covenant written in this record of the *tôrâ* (**בספר התורה הזה**)" (29,20); "every curse written in this record (**בספר הזה**)" (29,26); "his commandments and decrees that are written in this record of the *tôrâ* (**בספר התורה הזה**)" (30,10). In all these cases, Moses points to a specific **ספר** ("record, inscription, scroll")

⁴⁰ G. GENETTE, *Métalepse*. De la figure à la fiction (Paris 2004) 110 ; IDEM, *Narrative Discourse*, 234–236. Whereas ancient rhetoric used the word "metalepsis" to refer to figures of speech such as metonymy or metaphor, where one word is used for another, Genette uses it to refer to passages from one representational level to the other: there is a metalepsis wherever there is an "intrusion by the extradiegetic narrator or narratee into the diegetic universe (or by diegetic characters into a metadiegetic universe, etc.), or the inverse" (GENETTE, *Narrative Discourse*, 234–235). For a survey of narrative metalepsis (in Genette's sense) in ancient Greek literature, see I. DE JONG, "Metalepsis in Ancient Greek Literature", *Narratology and Interpretation*. The Content of Narrative Form in Ancient Literature (eds. J. GRETHLEIN – A. RENGAKOS) (Berlin 2009) 87–115. The survey includes (106–115) the type of metalepsis called "fade-out", which "features the merging of the world of the narrated and the world of the narrator at the end of narratives" (106); in such cases, "the worlds of narrated and narrator merge, the metalepsis serving to bring together past and present and to show the continuity between myth and actuality", achieved in particular through deictic markers (107).

⁴¹ P. VON MÖLLENDORFF, "Metalepsis", *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (<https://oxfordre.com/classics>).

⁴² D. COHN, "Metalepsis and Mise en Abyme", *Narrative* 20 (2012) 105–114, here 105; quoting G. GENETTE, *Narrative Discourse*, 236. About narrative metalepsis, see also *Métalepses*. Entorses au pacte de la représentation (eds. J. PIER – J.-M. SCHAEFFER) (Paris 2005); J. PIER, "Metalepsis", *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory* (eds. D. HERMAN et al.) (London 2005) 303–304.

close at hand (זה, “this”) within Deuteronomy’s represented world, in an act of reference meant for his audience⁴³. At these points of Moses’ speech, the reader is thus invited to imagine such a written record, probably a scroll, present in Moses’ and his addressees’ world. Yet, the reader is simultaneously driven back to his own situation, since it is also through a written artefact (the book of Deuteronomy) that the deuteronomic *tôrâ* is reaching him/her⁴⁴. In these instances, the phrase “(written) in this record” thus performs double duty: it enters Moses’ *reference* to a written record in Deuteronomy’s represented world; it concurrently activates a *self-reference* of the embedding written medium (the book Deuteronomy). This second trope is facilitated by the inclusive character of the record’s content (“all the words of this *tôrâ* / all the curses / every curse written in this record”). The switch in question has been finely described by Mark Lester:

And herein lies the role of the self-referential function of the phrase “all the words of this *tôrâ* written in this *sêper*.” The embedding of Moses’s direct speech in narrative draws the audience into a story-world that represents the Mosaic past. The referential disruption caused by “this *sêper*” in Deut 28:58-61 — which has a clearer initial reference in the frame of the listening audience than in the story-world — dislodges listeners from the narrated past and suddenly reorients them within their present reality. This disruption reminds audiences that what matters is not just the “today” of Moses, but the “today” of today, where, directly or indirectly, obedience is still the condition for the

⁴³ The mentions of the ספר record in Deut 29,19.20.26; 30,10 and 28,58.61 have in common the fact that they appear in *medias* (spoken) *res*. In the curses of Deuteronomy 28, as in the covenantal speech of Deuteronomy 29–30, dramatic presentation is the rule; Moses is pointing to a specific written record meant for an audience in a position to grasp the act of reference. This is not true for the reader, who does not perceive what the audience supposedly perceives, and whose way of making sense of Moses’ reference is necessarily a process of trial and error. A rhetorical effect is thus created throughout Deuteronomy 27–30, driving the reader into a dynamic of curiosity: What is the genesis of the document in question? Does it include (for 28,58,61) a reference to the stone inscription (mentioned in Deuteronomy 27)? The report by the narrator in 31,9 about Moses’ writing down of the *tôrâ* is a timely answer to some of these questions. Besides, Moses has equally anticipated the written condition of his *tôrâ* in 17,18 when he enjoins the king, upon his accession to the throne, to write “for himself on a *sêper* a copy of this *tôrâ*, taken from that of the priests, who are Levites”. The making of a copy presupposes a written original; the existence thereof is another piece of gapped information that generates curiosity. See the discussion in J.-P. SONNET, “The Fifth Book of the Pentateuch: Deuteronomy in Its Narrative Dynamic”, *JAJ* 3 (2012) 197–234, here 210; and IDEM, *Book*, 134–138.

⁴⁴ See ALTER, *Five Books*, 610: “The resources of rhetoric are marshaled to create through a written text the memory of a foundational national event, so that the latter-day Israelites listening to ‘this book of the teaching,’ *sefer hatorah hazeh*, will feel that they themselves are reenacting that event [...]. The role of stylistic indicators of temporal and spatial location and orientation — those ‘pointing words’ that linguists refer to as *deictics* — is essential to the creation of this general effect”.

divine curse or blessing and that obedience is still defined in relation to the text-object located in the audience's very presence ⁴⁵.

Lester focuses on the first of the six *sēper*-references, in Deut 28,58. The last one of the series, in 30,10, is particularly meaningful in the present inquiry since it is preceded and followed by a concentration of deictic "todays". The projected context is a returning from exile (see vv. 1-5):

Then you shall again listen to YHWH, observing all his commandments that I am commanding you *today* [...] When you listen to YHWH your God by observing his commandments and decrees that are written *in this record of the tōrâ* (הַסֵּפֶר הַתּוֹרָה הַזֶּה) [...] See, I have set before you *today* (הַיּוֹם) life and prosperity, death and adversity. If you listen to the commandments of YHWH your God that I am commanding you *today* (הַיּוֹם) (30,8-16).

Taken up in the narrator's overall rehearsal, Moses' reference to "this record of the *tōrâ*" sounds as a self-reference of the material book the reader is reading (and the listener listening to) in his/her own world. Concurrently and analogously, Moses' "today" in the plains of Moab catches up with the "today" of Deuteronomy's addressees. Both deictic expressions function as "metalepsis prompters", triggering a coalescence of the distinct temporal and communication realms.

John Pier, who has written extensively on metalepsis, characterizes its *modus operandi* as follows: "Essentially, it functions with varying dosages of three parameters: (a) illusion of contemporaneity between the time of the telling and the time of the told; (b) transgressive merging of two or more levels; (c) doubling of the narrator/narratee axis with the author/reader axis" ⁴⁶. All three phenomena are involved in Deuteronomy's strategy: the temporal collapsing ("today"/"today"), the (partial) merging of the represented written document with the representing one, the ultimate targeting of the work on the actual reader. In Deuteronomy 30, the

⁴⁵ M. LESTER, "Deuteronomy 28:58, CTH 53, and the Rhetoric of Self-Reference", VT 69 (2019) 1-22, here 20; see already SONNET, *Book*, 248-249. Lester's proposal draws from cases of self-reference in Ancient Near East (and specifically Hittite) treaty inscriptions; about analogies in legal inscriptions, see B. ARNOLD, "Deuteronomy's Book and Hammurapi's Stela: The Referent of 'This *Sēper*' in Deuteronomy 28:58", VT 69 (2020) 645-666. Lester and Arnold both prolong the comparative inquiry initiated by Moshe Weinfeld, Dennis J. McCarthy, and Joseph A. Fitzmyer about self-reference in documents and monumental inscriptions in Hittite, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Syrian-Aramaic traditions. When it comes to Deuteronomy, the comparative investigation obviously falls on Deuteronomy's matrix, Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty (STE, 672 B.C.E), which multiplies instances of self-reference to "this treaty", "this oath", "this treaty tablet". See in particular §33 which associates "this treaty", "this oath" [2x] and "this day" (see S. PARPOLA – K. WATANABE, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* [SAA 2; Helsinki 1988] 44).

⁴⁶ J. PIER, "Metalepsis", *The Living Handbook of Narratology* (eds. P. HÜHN *et al.*) (Hamburg 2016) §5 (<http://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/>).

theme of the proximity of the word developed by Moses (vv. 11-14) further catalyzes the shortcut: “for the word is very near to you; it is in your mouth and in your heart for you to observe” (v. 14). As never before in Deuteronomy, internal and external addressees are drawing close, ending up aligned with one another in front of the choice to make “today”.

7. *Deuteronomy's Final Disclosure*

As it has progressively emerged in these pages, it is the reader/listener of the book who, in Deuteronomy, ultimately enjoys the “privilege (and the responsibility) of the actual listener”. This is far from implying either a systematic blurring of the book’s temporal differences or a shift of every occurrence of “today” in the work into an immediate reference to the reader’s/listener’s “today”⁴⁷. The first impressions, created by the calendar of Deut 1,3, are somehow invincible: Moses’ “today” in Moab is a day in the past, in foundational history. Yet the reader/listener progressively realizes that the covenant momentum actualized in the Moab’s “today” ultimately leads into his/her “today”. And just as the “today” of Moses’ immediate listeners, the “today” of Deuteronomy’s reader/listener is a moment of decision⁴⁸.

The last chapter of Deuteronomy adds a final twist to the issue and astutely ties together the main threads of the work’s dynamic. It does so in two moves. In a first move, the narrator drives the “today” dynamic that undergirded Moses’ speeches to its most updated relevance, the “today” of Deuteronomy’s narration-reception. In Deut 34,6, the narrator, reporting Moses’ death, makes clear that “no one knows his burial place to *this day* (עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה)”⁴⁹. In so speaking, the narrator gathers and relaunches Moses’ rhetorical strategy, pointing to present and future “todays” in the

⁴⁷ The misuse of deictics has long been identified as a symptom of psychosis. See B. ROSENBAUM – H. SONNE, *The Language of Psychosis* (New York 1986): “The various kinds of deictic failure in language is what we here describe as the breakdown of the boundaries between discourse and enunciation. When this occurs the times, places, persons, and circumstances of the enunciation become diffuse, unstable and replaceable entities” (52).

⁴⁸ See on this theme MILLAR, “Place of Decision”, 15-88.

⁴⁹ Formally speaking, the use of “up to this day” by the narrating voice in Deut 34,6 is very similar to the two previous uses in the ethnographic notices in 2,22 and 3,14. Yet, a significant difference can be observed, and I thank Dominik Markl for having brought the phenomenon to my attention. While the content in 2,22 and 3,14 is bound to a geographical and historical situation shared by the narrator (or implied author) and his implied addressees, the statement in 34,6 is, so to say, setting free. The only knowledge it requires is a lack of knowledge (about the place of Moses’ tomb), and it is a datum disclosed by the text itself. In its ending Deuteronomy reveals how radically it is reader-minded, in search of *actual* readers or listeners, in order to deliver what it promises.

reception of the *tôrâ*. To state that Moses' tomb has not been found "up to this day" amounts to saying that it will never be found. Moses' "permanence" has thus to be searched for in another monument: in the book, Deuteronomy, that discloses Moses' *tôrâ*. The "today" progressively expanded by Moses in his speeches thus merges with the perennial "today" authorized by Deuteronomy's narrating voice ⁵⁰.

The second move is almost symmetrical and represents Deuteronomy's ultimate surprise. What has so far been left undocumented in the narrator's report, i.e., the historical choice of Moses' addressees responding to God's offer, receives an authorized report in Deut 34,9: "The sons of Israel listened to Joshua and did as YHWH had commanded Moses". Three verses before the end of the book, we learn that an actual "listening and doing" (analogous to the commitment of the people in Exod 24,3.7) took place in foundational history thanks to Joshua's mediation. Such a report does not cancel the rhetorical appeal issued in Moses' speeches. It actually coordinates any answer in the future ("today") with the answer given in the past by the faithful generation "at that time" ⁵¹.

III. CONCLUSION

The trajectory of one deictic expression, "today", undergirds Deuteronomy's core strategy. If the book eventuates in a metalepsis triggered by the deictic in question, tying up represented and representing "today", it does so by being the *narrative* of such a metalepsis. Making the most of his *dramatis persona*'s speeches, the narrator builds up the multilayered significance and actuality of the day that counts, within and without the historiographical narrative. The actuality impending in Deuteronomy's occurrences of "today" is progressively mobilized, intensified, and interconnected, up to the perennial "today" of Deut 34,6. In the end, any possible response in history gets coupled with the response by the faithful

⁵⁰ The effect is paralleled and reinforced in the narrator's statement in Deut 34,10: "Never since (עוד ... ולא) has there arisen a prophet in Israel like Moses". See BHRG² §40.37 about the use of לא עוד ("not again") "in utterances about future situations (e.g., in announcements, promises, appeals) to indicate what will or should *not happen again* or *any longer*". As is aptly observed by Markl, the narrator's statement in Deut 34,10 "is meant to be valid forever, being reaffirmed by any future reader" (D. MARKL, "Deuteronomy", *The Paulist Biblical Commentary* [eds. J.E. AGUILAR CHIU *et al.*] [New York – Mahwah, NJ 2018] 147-193, here 193). Once again, Deuteronomy emerges as a book meant to deliver its pointedness in the act of reading.

⁵¹ See J.-P. SONNET, "Redefining the Plot of Deuteronomy — From End to Beginning: The Import of Deut 34:9", *Deuteronomium. Tora für eine neue Generation* (eds. G. FISCHER – D. MARKL – S. PAGANINI) (BZAR 17; Wiesbaden 2011) 37-49.

generation (Joshua's generation) reported in Deut 34,9. The answer provided in 29,28 ("the revealed things belong to us and to our children forever, to observe all the words of this *tôrâ*") is no longer "floating": it fits the response of Joshua's generation, as much as any response "today". *Scriptura Scripturae interpres*: it is another biblical text, Psalm 95, that perhaps best paraphrases Deuteronomy's core strategy: "Today, if you hear his voice" (v. 7) ⁵².

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SUMMARY

In its narrative, rhetorical, and pragmatic aspects, the trajectory of the deictic expression "today" in Deuteronomy reveals what the book is all about: a progressive merging of represented and representing time (and communication). Or, to use the category coined by Gérard Genette, it is a "metalepsis", "the transgression of a line of demarcation that authors usually do not touch, namely the 'shifting but sacred frontier between two worlds, the world in which one tells, the world of which one tells'" (Dorrit Cohn). Purposeful uses of the expression by Moses, in past, present, and future references and by the narrator conjointly build Deuteronomy's climactic moment, "today", as the urgent time of decision.

⁵² Cf. the analogous paraphrase in the New Testament: "But exhort one another every day, as long as it is called 'today'" (Heb 3,13).

COPULATIVE-APPOSITIONAL *LAMED*: A NEWLY IDENTIFIED FEATURE OF (LATE) BIBLICAL HEBREW

Post-exilic biblical books, especially the book of Chronicles, often use *lamed* in a way that deviates from its well-documented early and late functions¹. For instance:

ועמך בכל מלאכה לכל נדיב [...] והשרים וכל העם

And with you in all the work are every volunteer [...] and the officers and all the people (1 Chr 28,21).

והלויים המשררים לכלם לאסף להימן לידתון ולבניהם ולאחיהם [...] עמדים מזרח למזבח

The Levite singers — all of them — Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, their sons and their brothers [...] were standing east of the altar (2 Chr 5,12).

כל כלים לזהב ולכסף חמשת אלפים וארבע מאות

The total of the vessels, gold and silver alike, was five thousand four hundred (Ezra 1,11).

Following Haupt's 1894 influential study, this curious usage has generally been regarded as emphatic². As will be shown below, this somewhat elusive characterization has shaped the discussion of this particle ever since, preventing scholars from identifying the accurate function of the *lamed* under discussion. The present paper suggests a novel interpretation of this particle, which may contribute to a better understanding of the relevant biblical passages as well as to a more accurate typology of Late Biblical Hebrew (henceforth: LBH)³.

* I wish to express my thanks to the Israel Science Foundation (grant 277/17) for its generous support of this research. I am also thankful to Na'ama Pat-El for reading an earlier version of this study and suggesting a thorough and insightful feedback. Any shortcomings remain entirely my own.

¹ By "well documented functions" I refer both to those attested throughout the Bible (e.g., dative), and those typical of LBH (e.g., *lamed objecti*).

² P. HAUPT, "A New Hebrew Particle", *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* 13 (1894) 107-109.

³ For the definition and delineation of the categories, Late Biblical Hebrew, Classical Biblical Hebrew, and Transitional Biblical Hebrew, see, e.g., A.D. HORNKOHL, "Transitional Biblical Hebrew", *A Handbook of Biblical Hebrew*. Volume 1: Periods, Corpora, and Reading Traditions (eds. W.R. GARR – S.E. FASSBERG) (Winona Lake, IN 2016) 31-42; M. MORGENSTERN, "Late Biblical Hebrew", *A Handbook of Biblical Hebrew*. Volume 1 (eds. W.R. GARR – S.E. FASSBERG) 43-54.

I. HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

Haupt was the first to suggest that in cases like those mentioned above, the *lamed* serves an emphatic function, arguing that it is a cognate of the emphatic particles *la-* in Arabic and *lū* in Akkadian ⁴. However, when it comes to analyzing specific examples, Haupt's use of the term "emphatic" appears to be somewhat loose. Haupt ascribes the following sub-functions to the so-called emphatic *lamed*: (1) marking components in lists (in a manner similar to the Latin *sive ... sive*); (2) conveying "in short" at the conclusion of lists, before the word *kōl*; and (3) affirming statements. Of these, only the last may actually be considered emphatic.

Haupt's followers developed his theory by collecting additional biblical examples and attempting to define the particle's function, origin and distribution. The typical distribution patterns of the allegedly emphatic *lamed* were first noticed by Casanowicz, who pointed out that the majority of examples appear in post-exilic texts or in the pentateuchal source P ⁵. Kropat followed in his footsteps when he classified most cases as late, while ascribing a minority of cases to "other authors" ⁶. Several later studies shifted this focus by adding examples from the books of Proverbs, Job and Psalms, but these examples are, as will be explained below, mostly dubious and/or irrelevant ⁷. The particle's distribution became further blurred with the gradual accumulation of examples by various scholars. Several scholars included cases of *lamed* followed by verbal forms ⁸. Others expanded the list to include not only the proclitic *lamed*, but also occurrences of the independent particle לָ, which they understood to be

⁴ HAUPT, "Particle"; IDEM, "The Hebrew Stem Nahal, To Rest", *AJSL* 22 (1905) 195-206.

⁵ I.M. CASANOWICZ, "The Emphatic Particle לָ in the Old Testament", *JAOS* 16 (1896) 166-171.

⁶ A. KROPAT, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik verglichen mit der seiner Quellen* (BZAW 16; Gießen 1909) 4-9. See also R. POLZIN, *Late Biblical Hebrew. Toward an Historical Typology of Hebrew Prose* (HSM 12; Missoula, MT 1976) 66-68.

⁷ I. EITAN, "La particule emphatique 'la' dans la Bible", *Revue des Études Juives* 74 (1922) 1-16; IDEM, "Hebrew and Semitic Particles (Continued): Comparative Studies in Semitic Philology", *AJSL* 45 (1929) 197-211; M. DAHOOD, "Some Northwest Semitic Words in Job", *Biblica* 38 (1957) 306-320, here 312-313; IDEM, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III", *Biblica* 46 (1965) 311-332, here 318; A.C.M. BLOMMERDE, *Northwest Semitic Grammar and Job* (Rome 1969) 31; POLZIN, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, 67. Many of the examples included in the above-mentioned studies belong to other categories (see n. 20 below); others include *lamed* before verbal forms, on which see nn. 8 and 44 below.

⁸ EITAN, "La particule"; HALOT 461; B.K. WALTKE – M. O'CONNOR, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN 1990) 212. Examples of this alleged usage include, *inter alia*, Isa 38,20; 44,14; Hos 9,13; Prov 2,8; 6,30; 16,30; 19,8.27; 30,14; Ps 85,10; Eccl 3,18. Most of these are in fact cases of a predicatively used *lamed* + infinitive. For discussion see EITAN "La particule"; IDEM, "Hebrew and Semitic", 202; DAHOOD, "Northwest Semitic" 313 n. 1; and esp. T. MURAOKA, *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem – Leiden 1985) 121. See further n. 42 below.

emphatic ⁹. This, in turn, has led some scholars to add various cases to the list that involve לִי, לִי and לִי, considered to be alternative spellings of the emphatic לִי that were allegedly misinterpreted by the Masoretes ¹⁰. The inclusion of the latter was proven false by Muraoka ¹¹.

The identification of the precise function of the usage under consideration involves its own problems. Kropat, following Haupt, defined three uses of the so-called emphatic *lamed*: (1) emphasizing the subject of a clause; (2) emphasizing the last component in lists enumerating people, objects, etc.; and (3) marking inclusive or explicative appositions at the end of lists ¹². Kropat's analysis, which is similar to that of Haupt ¹³, raises several essential difficulties. What is the connection between the three uses, which on the surface seem to belong to different categories? Moreover, what makes uses (2) and (3) emphatic? Under which circumstances would speakers wish to routinely emphasize the last component of a list over the others, or else to highlight the apposition rather than other parts of a given clause? As Muraoka puts it: "a dry chronological list of personal names would be the last place to call for an emphatic construction" ¹⁴. Comparative linguists as well as Hebraists have shown that the often vaguely used concept of emphasis can only be properly established on pragmatic grounds, examining each case separately in its specific context ¹⁵. The

⁹ H.H. RICHARDSON, "Some Literary Parallels between Ugaritic and the Old Testament", *JBR* 20 (1952) 172-175, here 173-174; F. NÖTSCHER, "Zum emphatischen Lamed", *VT* 3 (1953) 372-380, here 374.

¹⁰ HAUPT, "Nahal", 201; H.P. SMITH, "Old Testament Notes", *JBL* 24 (1905) 27-30, here 30; EITAN, "La particule"; G.R. DRIVER, *Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System* (Edinburgh 1936) 150; C. BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*. Vol. 2: Syntax (Berlin 1913; repr. Hildesheim 1961) §56b; NÖTSCHER, "Zum emphatischen Lamed", 374-375; J.A. SOGIN, "La "negazione" in Geremia 4,27 e 5,10a, cfr. 5,18b", *Biblica* 46 (1956) 56-59, here 58-59; BLOMMERDE, "Northwest Semitic", 31. Among the examples of allegedly misinterpreted emphatic לִי included in the above studies is a group of rhetorical questions marked by the negative particle לֹא while lacking the standard interrogative marker הֲ. See, e.g., Exod 8,22; 1 Sam 20,9; Jonah 4,11; Job 2,10. The particle לֹא in these cases was unnecessarily interpreted as emphatic (HAUPT, "Nahal", 210; SMITH, "Notes", 30; EITAN, "La particule", 2; Nötscher, "Zum emphatischen Lamed", 375). See Muraoka's convincing counterarguments (*Emphatic*, 118). Another unpersuasive expansion of the category under discussion is Fitzmyer's attempt to interpret לִי in Micah 5,1 as an emphatic particule. See J.A. FITZMYER, "I as a Preposition and a Participle in Micah 5,1", *CBQ* 18 (1956) 10-13.

¹¹ MURAOKA, *Emphatic*, 116-119. For further discussion, see n. 42 below.

¹² KROPAT, *Syntax*, 4-9.

¹³ See also POLZIN, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, 66-68.

¹⁴ MURAOKA, *Emphatic*, 121.

¹⁵ For a recent discussion of the general linguistic theory of emphasis, see A. TROTZKE, *The Grammar of Emphasis*. From Information Structure to the Expressive Dimension (Berlin 2017), with previous literature. For emphatic structures in Biblical Hebrew, see MURAOKA, *Emphatic*.

classification of the fixed use of *lamed* in lists as emphatic does not fulfill these requirements.

These shortcomings have made several scholars doubt the very existence of an emphatic *lamed* in Biblical Hebrew. Some tended to reduce the number of examples, classifying most cases as belonging to different uses of *lamed*; others expressed serious reservations regarding Haupt's theory; and a few rejected it altogether ¹⁶.

II. A NEW INTERPRETATION: COPULATIVE-APPOSITIONAL *LAMED*

The scholars who doubt the idea that Biblical Hebrew may use *lamed* emphatically have presented weighty considerations against this theory ¹⁷. As explained above, most occurrences of the *lamed* under consideration can hardly be understood to be emphatic. Yet, downplaying the existence of this phenomenon by labeling most cases as scribal errors or by attempting — with difficulty — to ascribe them to other uses of *lamed* does not do justice to the data. I would like to suggest an alternative explanation, which accounts for the majority of the cases and enables us both to understand the function of this usage and to appreciate its diachronic significance.

Several scholars have noticed that in some cases, the *lamed* marks various types of appositions ¹⁸. Others have associated some of the examples with the so-called *lamed explicativum* ¹⁹. These insights may serve as a starting point for defining the basic function of this particle with better precision. This function may best be described as *marking equality, equivalence, and/or correspondence between noun phrases*. Simply put, the structure *X + lamed + Y* basically means “*X is Y*”; “*X, which is Y*”; or “*X, namely Y*”. This basic meaning falls into the following sub-categories:

¹⁶ GKC §§119u, 143e; E. KÖNIG, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig 1881-1897) §§217a-c, 351d; G. BERGSTRÄSSER, *Hebräische Grammatik*. Vol. 2 (Leipzig 1918) 56; MURAOKA, *Emphatic*, 112-123; A. WILSON-WRIGHT, “From Persepolis to Jerusalem: A Reevaluation of Old Persian-Hebrew Contact in the Achaemenid Period”, *VT* 65 (2015) 152-167. While Wilson-Wright's study refers only to three examples (1 Chr 28,1; 2 Chr 24,12; 26,14), it promotes our understanding of the *lamed* under discussion in several ways, among which the falsity of the emphatic-particle theory. See further discussion below.

¹⁷ See esp. MURAOKA, *Emphatic*, 118-123.

¹⁸ KROPAT, *Syntax*, 4-7; WALTKE – O'CONNOR, *Syntax*, 212.

¹⁹ NÖTSCHER, “Zum emphatischen Lamed”, 378. For *lamed explicativum*, see, e.g., *HALOT* 510 n. 22. Several cases classified under this supposed category are in fact examples of the copulative-appositional *lamed*. These include, e.g., Exod 27,19 and Jer 1,18, both appearing in the lists below. Other examples of *lamed explicativum* coincide with similar categories such as *lamed inscriptionis* (see n. 20 below). The issue requires further study.

- (1) Appositional use: the *lamed* marks the equivalence or correspondence between a noun phrase and its apposition(s). This usage is especially common in lists, where the *lamed* indicates the equality between the list's title and components, or *vice versa* (examples 1-23 below).
- (2) Copulative use: the *lamed* serves as a copula that marks the equality or equivalence between the subject and the nominal predicate of a verbless clause (examples 24-31 below).
- (3) Modificational use: the *lamed* marks the correspondence between a noun phrase and its attributive modifier(s) (examples 32-38 below).
- (4) Finally, the *lamed* that introduces an apposition gave rise to a secondary usage that is no longer copulative-appositional. Here, the *lamed* precedes the last item in a list. As will be explained below, this function of the *lamed* probably developed out of the frequent use of the appositional *lamed* in lists of items, people etc. (examples 39-45 below).

Below is a full list of the relevant occurrences, sorted by function and diachronic distribution ²⁰.

²⁰ The list below does not include the following cases, which were classified by former scholars as examples of the emphatic *lamed*. (1) Propositional *lamed* serving its common functions, i.e., signifying “for, to, of, by” etc.: Lev 11,24-26 (“by these you shall become unclean [...] by every animal [...]”). The second part of v. 26 is probably a separate clause; see MILGROM, *Leviticus 1–16*, 668; 1 Kgs 1,9 (קרא ל and קרא אה) are used here next to one another); 2 Kgs 12,8; 18,24; Isa 8,20 (with most moderns); Jer 9,2 (“for lying and not for truth have they prevailed in the land”; see, e.g., JPS and NRSV); Mic 5,1 (*contra* Fitzmyer, “*l* as a Preposition and a Particle in Micah 5,1”); Zech 9,1; Pss 89,19 (with NRSV and many of the moderns); 119,91; Prov 14,35; 17,21; Job 21,22; Neh 8,9; 1 Chr 26,23; 1 Chr 28,11-13. (2) Propositional *lamed* signifying “as for, in regard to” (GKC §119u): Lev 5,4; Deut 24,5; Isa 32,1 (alternatively, this may be a scribal error; see HAUPT, “Particle”; GKC §143e); Josh 21,20; 1 Kgs 10,23; Prov 25,3 (MURAOKA, *Emphatic*, 121); Song 1,3 (literally: “your ointments are sweet regarding fragrance”); Eccl 9,4 (the syntax of this epigram may be compared to Egyptian instruction literature after which it might have been molded; the latter often uses the structure “as for X, it/he is ...”; see M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. Vol. 1: The Old and Middle Kingdoms [Berkeley, CA 1973] 67 l. 20; 75 l. 599; 158; IDEM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. Vol. 2: The New Kingdom [Berkeley, CA 1978] 150 part VII. 1); 1 Chr 24,1.20; 1 Chr 26,1; 1 Chr 28,18 (probably best rendered as “and for the figure of the chariot — the cherubs — [he gave] gold, for those spreading their wings and covering the ark”; an alternative reading that sees the *lamed* as appositional is less likely); Josh 17,16 (although an appositional *lamed* should not be excluded here); and perhaps also 2 Chr 7,21 (but see HAUPT, “Particle”; GKC §143e; MURAOKA, *Emphatic*, 121). (3) Genitival *lamed*: Ruth 2,1.3; 1 Chr 26,1; 1 Chr 7,1 (alternatively, this may be a scribal error inspired by the common use of *lamed* in genealogical lists; see KROPAT, *Syntax*, 3; cf. GKC §143e; NÖTSCHER, “Zum emphatischen Lamed”, 379). (4) Accusative *lamed*: Num 32,15; 2 Kgs 21,8; Job 5,2; 12,23; 1 Chr 16,37; 2 Chr 28,15 (but see HALOT 501 n. 22). (5) *Lamed inscriptionis* (GKC §119u): Isa 8,1; Ezek 37,16. This category may be related to *lamed explicativum*, on which see n. 19 above. (6) Incomprehensible verses, scribal errors, secondary

(1) *Appositional Lamed*In Classical and Transitional Biblical Hebrew ²¹

1.

ויען עפרון החתי את אברהם באזני בני חת לכל באי שער עירו

And Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the hearing of the Hittites, all who were present at the gate of his city (Gen 23,10).

2.

או כי יגע בטמאת אדם לכל טמאתו אשר יטמא בה

Or when he touches human uncleanness, any uncleanness by which one can become unclean (Lev 5,3).

3.

כל הולך על גחון וכל הולך על ארבע עד כל מרבה רגלים לכל השרץ השרץ על הארץ לא תאכלום

Whatever moves on its belly, and whatever moves on fours, or whatever has many legs — all the creatures that swarm upon the earth, you shall not eat (Lev 11,42).

For discussion see comment A below.

4.

איש איש מבית ישראל [...] אשר יקריב קרבנו לכל נדריהם ולכל נדבותם אשר יקריבו ליהוה

When anyone of the house of Israel [...] presents an offering, whether in payment of a vow or as a freewill offering that is offered to the Lord (Lev 22,18).

For discussion see comments A, B, and C below.

5.

וביום הקים את המשכן כסה הענן את המשכן לאהל העדת

On the day the tabernacle was set up, the cloud covered the tabernacle, the tent of the covenant (Num 9,15).

glosses etc.: Gen 9,10 (the phrase לכל חית הארץ is an unnecessary repetition, as it already appears in the first half of the verse; the phrase is lacking in the LXX, which is to be preferred here; see also BHS ad loc.); Pss 16,3; 17,4; 32,6 (the text is difficult in all three cases); Prov 21,12 (the reading of LXX and Peshitta, “the heart(s) of the wicked” seems preferable); Job 17,5; Neh 7,43 (cf. Ezra 2,40, which preserves a better variant); 1 Chr 26,12 (the *lamed* is hard to explain; if it is copular, then it exceptionally appears at the head of the nominal sentence rather than between the predicate and the subject; cf. Job 13,12).

²¹ A complicated case that is only indirectly related to the current group of examples is Exod 27,3. At first sight, the phrase לכל כליו here seems to be a *lamed*-marked apposition of the preceding list of bronze utensils. Yet, the addition of a separate verb governing this phrase makes לכל כליו an independent part of a separate sentence. Thus, while in its current syntactic context, the *lamed* is not appositional, its employment here may be inspired by the similar appositional use of *lamed* at the conclusion of lists.

For discussion see comment C below.

6.

הנה נתתי לך את משמרת תרומתי לכל קדשי בני ישראל

I have given you charge of the offerings made to me, all the holy gifts of the Israelites (Num 18,8) ²².

7.

כל קרבנם לכל מנחתם ולכל חטאתם ולכל אשמם אשר ישיבו לי קדש קדשים לך
הוא ולבניך

Every offering of theirs that they render to me as a most holy thing, whether grain offering, sin offering, or guilt offering, shall belong to you and your sons (Num 18,9).

For discussion see comments A and B below.

8.

אלה תעשו ליהוה במועדיכם לבד מגדריכם ונדבתיכם לעלתיכם ולמנחתיכם ולנסיכם
ולשלמיכם

These you shall offer to the Lord at your appointed festivals, in addition to your votive offerings and your freewill offerings, be they your burnt offerings, your grain offerings, your libations, or your offerings of well-being (Num 29,39) ²³.

For discussion see comments A and B below.

9.

חירם מלך צר נשא את שלמה בעצי ארזים ובעצי ברושים ובוהב לכל חפצו

King Hiram of Tyre had supplied Solomon with cedar and cypress timber and gold — all that he desired (1 Kgs 9,11).

For discussion see comment A below.

10.

וישלח המלך אחז אל אוריה הכהן את דמות המזבח ואת תבניתו לכל מעשהו

King Ahaz sent to the priest Uriah a model of the altar and its pattern, a detailed plan thereof (2 Kgs 16,10).

For discussion see comment C below. Note that in the latter two cases (examples 9-10), most scholars take the *lamed* to mean “in accordance with; in regard to” ²⁴. If this is indeed the case, these examples should be excluded from the list.

²² Alternatively, the *lamed* may convey “in respect to” (GKC §143e). For the possibility that the *lamed* marks the accusative, see comment C below.

²³ Alternatively, the *lamed* may denote “to serve as, to be for”; see B.A. LEVIN, *Numbers 21–36* (AB 4A; New Haven, CT 2000) 392.

²⁴ On this usage, see GKC §119u.

11.

ואני הנה נתתיך היום לעיר מבצר [...] על כל הארץ למלכי יהודה לשריה לכהניה ולעם הארץ

And I for my part have made you today a fortified city [...] against the whole land — (against) the kings of Judah, its princes, its priests, and the people of the land (Jer 1,18).

For discussion see comments A and B.

12.

והיו בתי ירושלם ובתי מלכי יהודה כמקום התפת הטמאים לכל הבתים אשר קטרו על גגותיהם

The houses of Jerusalem and the houses of the kings of Judah shall be defiled like the place of Topheth — all the houses upon whose roofs offerings have been made (Jer 19,13).

For discussion see comment D below.

13.

שים לבך וראה בעיניך ובאזניך שמע את כל אשר אני מדבר אתך לכל חקות בית יהוה ולכל תורתיו

Mark well, look closely, and listen attentively to all that I shall tell you: to all the ordinances of the temple of the Lord and all its laws (Ezek 44,5).

This is an uncertain example, as the *lameds* here may also be interpreted as signifying “in regard to”; alternatively, they may be understood as variant complements for the verb שמע, appearing side by side with את. For the possibility that the *lamed* is an accusative marker, see comment A below. For other related issues, see comments A and C below.

14.

כל בן נכר ערל לב וערל בשר לא יבוא אל מקדשי לכל בן נכר אשר בתוך בני ישראל

No foreigner, uncircumcised in heart and flesh, shall enter my sanctuary — no foreigner whatsoever among the people of Israel (Ezek 44,9).

For discussion see comment D below.

In Late Biblical Hebrew

15.

ויהרג מלכים אדירים [...] לסיחון מלך האמרי [...] ולעוג מלך הבשן

He killed mighty kings [...]: Sihon, king of the Amorites and Og, king of Bashan (Ps 136,18-20) ²⁵.

See comments A, B, and C below.

²⁵ For linguistic features indicating the lateness of Psalm 136, see E. QIMRON, “Second Temple Hebrew in the Book of Psalms”, *Beth Mikra* 23 (1978) 139-151 (Hebrew).

16.

ויקומו ראשי האבות ליהודה ובנימן והכהנים והלויים לכל העיר האלהים את רוחו לעלות לבנות את בית יהוה אשר בירושלם

The heads of the families of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests and the Levites — everyone whose spirit God had stirred — got ready to go up and build the house of the Lord (Ezra 1,5).

For discussion see comment A below.

17.

ואבדילה משרי הכהנים שנים עשר לשרביה חשביה ועמהם מאחיהם עשרה

I set apart twelve of the chiefs of the priests: Sherebiah, Hashabiah, and ten of their kin with them (Ezra 8,24).

For discussion see comments A, B, and C below.

18.

ויועץ דויד עם שרי האלפים והמאות לכל נגיד

David consulted with the officers of the thousands and of the hundreds, with every chief officer (1 Chr 13,1).

For discussion see comment A below.

19.

ועתה שלחתי איש חכם יודע בינה לחורם אבי

Now I am sending you a skilled man, endowed with understanding: Hiram-abi (2 Chr 2,12).

For discussion see comment C below.

20.

הלויים המשררים לכלם לאסף להימן לידתון ולבניהם ולאחיהם [...] עמדים מזרח למזבח

The Levite singers — all of them: Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, their sons and kindred — [...] stood east of the altar (2 Chr 5,12).

The copulative-appositional *lamed* is used here on two hierarchic levels: *כלם* is a noun modifier of *הלויים המשררים* (see example 36 below), while *אסף*, *הימן*, *ידתון*, *בניהם* and *אחיהם* are appositions of *כלם*. All components of both levels are marked by *lamed*. For additional information regarding this example see comments A and B below.

21.

ויתן להם אביהם מתנות רבות לכסף ולזהב ולמגדנות עם ערי מצרות ביהודה ואת הממלכה נתן ליהורם

Their father gave them many gifts — silver, gold, and valuable possessions — together with fortified cities in Judah; and he gave the kingdom to Jehoram (2 Chr 21,3).

For discussion see comments A, B, and C below.

22.

ויקח את שרי המאות לעזריהו בן ירחם ולישמעאל בן יהוחנן ולעזריהו בן עובד ואת מעשיהו בן עדיהו ואת אלישפט בן זכרי עמו בברית

He brought the officers of the hundreds — Azariah son of Jeroham, Ishmael son of Jehohanan, Azariah son of Obed, Maaseiah son of Adaiah, and Elis-haphat son of Zichri — into a compact with him (2 Chr 23,1).

For discussion see comments A, B, and C below.

23.

רק אם ישמרו לעשות את כל אשר צויתם לכל התורה והחקים והמשפטים

If only they will be careful to do all that I have commanded them — all the law, the statutes, and the ordinances (2 Chr 33,8).

For discussion see comments A and C below.

Appositional *lamed*: Comments and Explanations

A. Because the *lamed* is appositional, it frequently appears in lists, where it marks the equality or correspondence between the details and the whole or the total sum. The *lamed* may appear before either of the above, that is, a list may follow the pattern, whole + *lamed* + details (cases 4, 7, 8 ²⁶, 11, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23) or details + *lamed* + whole (cases 3, 9, 16, 18). It is this common use that has led several scholars to ascribe to this *lamed* the function of highlighting items in lists ²⁷. Syntactically, however, the use of *lamed* in this context is not different from its use in other appositional environments, its frequency in lists owing only to the special need for an equality marker in this genre. Note also that due to this highly common use, appositional *lamed* often precedes the word כל.

B. The pattern whole + *lamed* + details divides into three sub-groups. (1) The entire list of details is preceded by a single *lamed* (cases 17 and 23). In these cases, the different details are probably perceived as constituting a single unit. (2) Each detail is preceded by a *lamed*, the details being accumulative. This pattern occurs in examples 11, 14, 20, 21, and probably also 22 (depending on the interpretation of the verse, on which see comment C below). While the details in this case are presented distributively, that is, each is considered separately, they are still accumulative (= added to one another). The semantic difference between (1) and (2) is thus slight, and the interchange between them seems rather free. (3) Each detail is preceded by a *lamed*, the details constituting alternatives

²⁶ In this case, the whole is the phrase ונדבתיכם.

²⁷ E.g., HAUPT, "Particle"; KROPAT, *Syntax*, 4-9.

to one another. The *lamed* in this case serves the special function of conveying “whether ... or”; “be it X or Y” (Latin: *sive ... sive*). This function, exemplified in cases 4, 7 and 8, is reminiscent of one of the functions of the possible Akkadian cognate *lū*. However, since it is only found in three cases, this semantic similarity can hardly be used as a central consideration in determining the origins of the biblical usage under discussion. See further discussion below.

C. In cases where the *lamed* marks the apposition of the accusative, it may alternatively be interpreted as an accusative *lamed*. Of the above cases, this ambiguity is found in cases 4, 5, 6, 10, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22 and 23. This alternative interpretation is, however, less likely: it assumes — in all cases — a series of accusatives, the first of which is always either unmarked or *אֵת*-marked, while the rest (or some of them) are marked by an accusative *lamed*. This perplexing inconsistency is resolved if we understand the *lamed*-marked accusatives as appositions of the first, unmarked one. This facilitates a better understanding of the syntax and meaning of the relevant verses. Case no. 21 is a good example:

וַיִּתֵּן לָהֶם אֲבִיהֶם מַתָּנוֹת רַבּוֹת לְכֶסֶף וְלִזְהָב וּלְמַגְדָּנוֹת עִם עָרֵי מְצֻרוֹת בִּיהוּדָה וְאֵת
הַמַּמְלָכָה נָתַן לַיהוֹרָם

The author is careful to differentiate here between the various relevant gifts:

1. Their father gave them:
 - A. many gifts — silver, gold, and valuable possessions;
 - B. fortified cities in Judah;
2. And he gave the kingdom to Jehoram.

This specific hierarchy is conveyed using unmarked direct object followed by appositional *lamed*s, which in turn are followed by the particle *עִם* and by an *אֵת*-marked direct object. This sequence achieves the desired nuance of separating and grouping components according to the author’s specific intention. Interpreting the *lamed*s as accusative markers would have missed this point.

Another example of the contribution of the appositional *lamed* to the grouping and separation of items in lists may be found in example 22. The use of *lamed* here seems to be inconsistent:

וַיִּקַּח אֶת שְׂרֵי הַמָּאוֹת לְעֹזְרֵיהֶוּ בֶן יִרְחָם וְלִישְׁמַעֲאֵל בֶּן יְהוֹחָנָן וְלְעֹזְרֵיהֶוּ בֶן עֹבֵד וְאֵת
מַעֲשֵׂיהֶוּ בֶן עֲדִיָּהוּ וְאֵת אֱלִישַׁפְטָן בֶּן זַכְרִי עֲמוּ בְּבֵרִית

Apparently, the appositional *lamed* appears only before three out of five appositional phrases — *לְעֹזְרֵיהֶוּ בֶן יִרְחָם וְלִישְׁמַעֲאֵל בֶּן יְהוֹחָנָן וְלְעֹזְרֵיהֶוּ בֶן עֹבֵד*

עובד — while the remaining two are preceded by את. In light of the typical structure identified above, it may be tentatively suggested that only those phrases that are marked by *lamed* are appositions of the head noun phrase שרי המאות, while the two remaining phrases are separate direct objects, with the following rendering:

He brought the officers of the hundreds — Azariah son of Jeroham, Ishmael son of Jehohanan, and Azariah son of Obed — as well as Maaseiah son of Adaiah, and Elishaphat son of Zichri, into a compact with him.

According to this reading, Maaseiah son of Adaiah and Elishaphat son of Zichri were not officers of hundreds. They were rather functionaries of different, unspecified, kinds. As we have no historical knowledge of these figures, this alternative reading can neither be confirmed nor refuted.

D. In two cases (12, 14), the apposition of the subject is postponed until after the predicate. This phenomenon is unrelated to the appositional *lamed*, as it is also documented with appositions that are not marked by a *lamed*, in Biblical Hebrew as well as cross-linguistically.

(2) Lamed *Serving as Copula*

The copulative *lamed* appears in between the subject and the predicate regardless of their order within the sentence (this is essentially true also regarding the elliptic cases 27 and 30 below). This means that the *lamed* may be prefixed to either of them, depending on whether the subject precedes the predicate or *vice versa*. This practice should not be regarded as foreign to the syntactic logic of Hebrew, as more common copulas such as the root ה"ה may also appear before either the subject or the predicate²⁸, the only difference being the enclitic nature of the copulative *lamed*.

In Classical or Transitional Biblical Hebrew

24.

אנוש לשברך נחלה מכתך

Your hurt is incurable, your wound is grievous (Jer 30,12).

25.

יראת יהוה לחיים

The fear of the Lord is life (Prov 19,23).

For a similar structure without the copulative *lamed* see Prov 14,27.

²⁸ Examples of copulative particles before the predicate abound, in accordance with the typical BH word order. For examples of copulative ה"ה before the subject, see, e.g., Gen 31,8; Isa 18,5; Lam 1,18.

26.

בת עמי לאכזר כיענים במדבר

My people is cruel like the ostriches in the wilderness (Lam 4,3).

Note that the syntax is still problematic, as the sentence lacks gender agreement.

In Late Biblical Hebrew

27.

פנה אל הרבה והנה למעט

You have looked at much, and, lo, it is little (Hag 1,9).

The subject here appears in the previous clause; the implied phrase is *הרבה* *למעט*, that is, “much became (literally: much is) little”²⁹.

28.

במספר במשקל לכל

The total was counted and weighed (literally: everything is by number and by weight) (Ezra 8,34).

29.

השלשי לאבשלום בן מעכה בת תלמי מלך גשור הרביעי אדניה בן חגית

The third is Absalom son of Maacah daughter of King Talmai of Geshur; the fourth is Adonijah son of Haggith (1 Chr 3,2).

This example is especially instructive, as it has a parallel in 2 Sam 3,3-4 where the *lamed* is missing: *השלשי אבשלום בן מעכה בת תלמי מלך גשור* and *והרביעי אדניה בן חגית*. The addition of the *lamed* in Chronicles is in keeping with the general picture of the particle’s distribution as discussed below³⁰.

30.

ובני ראובן בכור ישראל כי הוא הבכור [...] כי יהודה גבר באחיו ולגניד ממנו

The sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel (he was the firstborn [...] and Judah grew mighty among his brothers and was superior to him [= to Reuben]) (1 Chr 5,1-2).

As in example 27 above, here too the subject appears in the preceding clause. The complete implied phrase is *יהודה לגניד ממנו*, literally: “Judah is superior to him”. The verse states that Judah was preferred to Reuben due to the former’s prominence³¹.

²⁹ There is no need to delete the *lamed* (*contra* MURAOKA, *Emphatic*, 122).

³⁰ Note, however, that many scholars have seen the *lamed* here as a scribal error. See BHS *ad loc.*; cf. HAUPT, “Particle”; CASANOWICZ, “Emphatic”, 171; MURAOKA, *Emphatic*, 122.

³¹ Our reading differs from the common rendering, “Judah became prominent among his brothers and a ruler came from him”, or the like (so already the ancient versions, followed by many moderns). According to this interpretation, the *גניד* is King David rather

31.

ועמך בכל מלאכה לכל נדיב בחכמה לכל עבודה והשרים וכל העם

And with you in all the work is every volunteer, skilled in all sorts of tasks, and the officers and all the people (1 Chr 28,21) ³².

(3) Lamed *Marking Attributive Modifier*

The *lamed*-marked attributive is best explained as an elliptic variant of the *lamed*-marked apposition. For instance, the phrase כל כלים לזהב ולכסף (example 33 below) basically means: “The total of vessels — gold (vessels) and silver (vessels)”. While syntactically the omission of the implied head noun turns the phrase into a modifier, the basic meaning of the *lamed* as marking equality between noun phrases is still retained ³³.

In Classical Biblical Hebrew

32.

וכל דם לא תאכלו בכל מושבתיכם לעוף ולבהמה

You must not eat any blood, either of bird or of animal, in any of your settlements (Lev 7,26).

In Late Biblical Hebrew

33.

כל כלים לזהב ולכסף חמשת אלפים וארבע מאות

The total of vessels — gold and silver ones alike — was five thousand four hundred (Ezra 1,11).

34.

ואחיהם לכל משפחות יששכר גבורי חילים שמונים ושבעה אלף התיחשם לכל

Their kindred belonging to all the families of Issachar were eighty-seven thousand mighty warriors; this covers all of them (literally: their enrolling by genealogy is all-inclusive) (1 Chr 7,5).

35.

ויצא הגורל הראשון לאסף [...] לשלשה עשר שובאל [...] לארבעה עשר מתתיהו [...] לחמשה עשר לירמות [...] לששה עשר לחנניהו [...] לשבעה עשר לישבקשה [...] לשמונה עשר לחנני [...] לתשעה עשר למלתי [...] לעשרים לאליתה [...] לאחד

than Judah, and the phrase וילגוד ממנו is an elliptic verbal sentence, the implied verb being יצא, יהיה or the like.

³² But see MURAOKA, *Emphatic*, 122, who assumes a scribal error.

³³ Note, however, that if the copulative-appositional *lamed* is an Old-Persian calque, as hesitantly suggested below, this explanation becomes unnecessary, as the cognate usage in Old Persian applies to both appositional and attributive phrases.

ועשרים להותיר [...] לשנים ועשרים לגדלתי [...] לשלשה ועשרים למחזיאות [...] לארבעה ועשרים לרוממתי עזר

The first lot fell to Asaph [...] the thirteenth, to Shubael [...] the fourteenth, to Mattithiah [...] the fifteenth, to Jeremoth [...] the sixteenth, to Hananiah [...] the seventeenth, to Joshbekashah [...] the eighteenth, to Hanani [...] the nineteenth, to Mallothi [...] the twentieth, to Eliathah [...] the twenty-first, to Hothir [...] the twenty-second, to Giddalti [...] the twenty-third, to Mahazioth [...] the twenty-fourth, to Romanti-ezer (1 Chr 25,9-31).

Here, each *lamed* marks a numeral that serves as a noun modifier for the head noun הנורל. This case is complicated by the fact that only numbers 13-24 in the list are marked by a *lamed* (vv. 20-31), while numbers 1-12 (vv. 9-19) are preceded by a standard definite article ³⁴.

36.

והלויים המשררים לכלם לאסף להימן ולבניהם ולאחיהם [...] עמדים מזרח למזבח

The Levite singers — all of them: Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, their sons and kindred — [...] stood east of the altar (2 Chr 5,12).

See discussion in example 20 above.

37.

ויתן דויד לשלמה בנו את [...] תבנית כל אשר היה ברוח עמו לחצרות בית יהוה ולכל הלשכות סביב לאצרות בית האלהים ולאצרות הקדשים ולמחלקות הכהנים והלויים ולכל מלאכת עבודת בית יהוה ולכל כלי עבודת בית יהוה

David gave his son Solomon the [...] plan of all that he had in mind: of the courts of the house of the Lord; of all the surrounding chambers; of the treasuries of the house of God; of the treasuries for dedicated gifts; of the divisions of the priests and Levites; of all the work of the service in the house of the Lord; and of all the vessels for the service in the house of the Lord (1 Chr 28,11-13).

Note that in the current case, the *lameds* may alternatively be interpreted as denoting “regarding” or the like: “[...] the plan of all that he had in mind regarding the courts of the house of the Lord [...]”.

38.

ויעמד יחזקיהו את מחלקות הכהנים והלויים על מחלקותם איש כפי עבדתו לכהנים וללויים

Hezekiah appointed the divisions of the priests and of the Levites, division by division, everyone according to his service — the priests’ and Levites’ service (2 Chr 31,2).

³⁴ NÖTSCHER, “Zum emphatischen Lamed”, 379. The *lameds* appearing before the personal names in this list (לירמות, לחנניה etc.) probably serve their standard propositional function by marking the people for whom the lot fell.

(4) *A Secondary Development: Lamed before the Last Component in a List*

This group of cases stands out in that it does not maintain the basic meaning of the copulative-appositional *lamed*, namely, the *lamed* here does not convey the equality or equivalence of noun phrases. Rather, it marks the last component in a list, a function identified by several previous scholars (see History of Scholarship above). In light of the data collected above, this usage seems to be a secondary development of the appositional *lamed*. The latter is common in lists, where it marks the equality between the details and the whole (see comment A on the appositional *lamed* above). One of the sub-types of the appositional *lamed* assigns a *lamed* to each item in the list (see comment B on the appositional *lamed* above). This is the case in examples 15, 20, and 21. It is probably this fuller form that gave rise to the current pattern in which the *lameds* are omitted before all list components except for the last one. This process changes the function of the remaining *lamed*, transforming it into a marker of the list's last item.

In Classical Biblical Hebrew

39.

לכל כלי המשכן בכל עבדתו וכל יתדתיו וכל יתדת החצר נחשת

(And finally), all the utensils of the tabernacle, for all its service, and all its pegs and all the pegs of the court shall be of copper (Exod 27,19).

In Late Biblical Hebrew

40.

ועלי הטה חסד לפני המלך ויועציו ולכל שרי המלך הגברים

He extended to me steadfast love before the king, his counselors, and all the king's mighty officers (Ezra 7,28).

41.

כל אצרות הקדשים אשר הקדיש דויד המלך וראשי האבות לשרי האלפים והמאות ושרי הצבא

All the treasuries of the dedicated gifts that King David, and the heads of families, and the officers of the thousands and the hundreds, and the commanders of the army, had dedicated (1 Chr 26,26).

The inclusion of this case here is uncertain, as it requires two assumptions: (1) the last item in the list is "the officers of the thousands and the hundreds, and the commanders of the army", all considered to constitute a single unit; and (2) the lack of a *waw* before this last component is the result of a secondary omission (note that a *waw* is reflected in the versions).

42.

ויקהל דויד את כל שרי ישראל שרי השבטים ושרי המחלקות המשרתים את המלך ושרי האלפים ושרי המאות ושרי כל רכוש ומקנה למלך ולבניו עם הסריסים והגבורים ולכל גבור חיל אל ירושלם

David assembled all the officers of Israel — the officers of the tribes, the officers of the divisions that served the king, the officers of the thousands, the officers of the hundreds, the stewards of all the property and cattle of the king and his sons, together with the palace officials, the mighty warriors, and all the warriors — to Jerusalem (1 Chr 28,1).

For the possibility that the *lamed* here is accusative see comment C on the appositional *lamed* above.

43.

ויתנדבו שרי האבות ושרי שבטי ישראל ושרי האלפים והמאות ולשרי מלאכת המלך

The officers of the ancestral houses, the officers of the tribes of Israel, the officers of the thousands and of the hundreds, and the officers over the king's work made their freewill offerings (1 Chr 29,6).

44.

ויהיו שכרים חצבים וחרשים לחדש בית יהוה וגם לחרשי ברזל ונחשת לחזק את בית יהוה

They hired masons and carpenters to restore the house of the Lord, and also workers in iron and bronze to repair the house of the Lord (2 Chr 24,12).

For the possibility that the *lamed* here is accusative see comment C on the appositional *lamed* above.

45.

ויכן להם עזיהו לכל הצבא מגנים ורמחים וכובעים ושרינות וקשתות ולאבני קלעים

Uzziah provided them — the whole army — with shields, spears, helmets, mail, bows and slingstones (2 Chr 26,14).

For the possibility that the *lamed* here is accusative see comment C on the appositional *lamed* above.

III. COPULATIVE-APPOSITIONAL *LAMED*: THE PROBLEM OF ITS DISTRIBUTION AND ORIGIN

A striking feature of the copulative-appositional *lamed* is its curious patterns of distribution within the biblical corpus. Of the forty-five examples presented above, twenty-six appear in post-exilic books ³⁵; nine appear in the pentateuchal source P ³⁶; six appear in books from the sixth century BCE,

³⁵ Examples 15-23, 27-31, 33-38, 40-45.

³⁶ Examples 2-8, 32, 39. This general ascription to P also includes the related source H.

whose language is sometimes considered transitional ³⁷; and only four examples — or two, if we exclude examples 9 and 10 — occur elsewhere ³⁸. The general picture is that the copulative-appositional *lamed* is used in Hebrew from the sixth century onwards, reaching its peak in the language of the book of Chronicles. In addition, it is common in the priestly source.

The dating of the priestly source is a matter of scholarly controversy. For the sake of the current discussion, we will refer only to those studies that have attempted to date P on a linguistic basis. An impressive body of linguistic data seems to indicate P's pre-exilic date ³⁹. Several other pieces of evidence, on the other hand, apparently point in the opposite direction, supporting P's dating to the post-exilic period ⁴⁰. While some of the aforementioned studies present more convincing arguments than others, a comprehensive analysis of the data is beyond the scope of the current study. Suffice it to mention that a possible solution to the apparently mixed linguistic tendencies of P may posit that it consists of several strata dating from different periods ⁴¹. The findings of the current paper present a modest contribution to the available data, as they seem to indicate a linguistic

³⁷ Examples 11-14, 24, 26. For Transitional Biblical Hebrew, see A.D. HORNKOHL, *Ancient Hebrew Periodization and the Language of the Book of Jeremiah*. The Case for a Sixth-Century Date of Composition (SSL 74; Leiden 2014).

³⁸ Examples 1, 9, 10, 25, from the books of Genesis, 1 Kings, and Proverbs. For the option of excluding examples 9-10 from the list, see comment *ad loc.*

³⁹ POLZIN, *Late Biblical Hebrew*; G. RENDSBURG, "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of P", *JANES* 12 (1980) 65-80; Z. ZEVIT, "Converging Lines of Evidence Bearing on the Date of P", *ZAW* 94 (1982) 481-511; A. HURWITZ, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*. A New Approach to an Old Problem (Cahiers de la Revue biblique 20; Paris 1982); IDEM, "The Language of the Priestly Source and Its Historical Setting: The Case for an Early Date", *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Panel Sessions*. Bible Studies and Hebrew Language (Jerusalem 1983) 83-94; IDEM, "Dating the Priestly Source in Light of the Historical Study of Biblical Hebrew: a Century after Wellhausen", *ZAW* 100 (1988) 88-100; J. MILGROM, *Leviticus 1-16* (AB 3; New York 1991) 3-12; F.H. POLAK, "Syntactic-Stylistic Aspects of the so-called 'Priestly' Work in the Torah", *Le-ma'an Ziony*. Essays in Honor of Ziony Zevit (eds. F.E. GREENSPAHN – G.A. RENDSBURG) (Eugene, OR 2017) 345-382.

⁴⁰ B.A. LEVINE, "Research in the Priestly Source: The Linguistic Factor" *Eretz-Israel* 16 (1982) 124-131 (Hebrew); IDEM, "Late Language in the Priestly Source: Some Literary and Historical Observations", *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Panel Sessions*. Bible Studies and Hebrew Language (Jerusalem 1983) 69-82; IDEM, *Leviticus* (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia, PA 1993) 101-109; IDEM, "On the Semantics of Land Tenure in Biblical Literature: The Term 'ahuzzāh'", *The Tablet and the Scroll*. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo (eds. M.E. COHEN – D. SNELL – D. WEISBERG) (Bethesda, MD 1993) 134-139.

⁴¹ So, e.g., I. KNOHL, *The Sanctuary of Silence*. The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School (Minneapolis, MN 1995); N. MIZRAHI, "The Numeral 11 and the Linguistic Dating of P", *The Formation of the Pentateuch*. Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America (eds. J.C. GERTZ – B.M. LEVINSON – D. ROM-SHILONI – K. SCHMID) (FAT 111; Tübingen 2016) 372 n. 5.

link between P, or a certain stratum thereof, and the Hebrew language of the sixth century onwards. Yet due to the complexity of P's linguistic picture, no decisive conclusion can be reached on the basis of the single case of the copulative-appositional *lamed*.

Another major problem is the origin of the copulative-appositional *lamed*. Earlier studies, assuming that this *lamed* was emphatic, have associated it with the asseverative particle *l*+vowel known from several Semitic languages⁴². Oft-quoted examples include Arabic *la*-, Akkadian *lū*, Ugaritic *l*- and Amorite *la*-⁴³.

The above analysis of the allegedly parallel *lamed* in Biblical Hebrew sets it apart from the asseverative *l*+vowel. This distinction is syntactically and semantically apparent: whereas the asseverative *l*+vowel is employed in both verbal and nominal environments, the Hebrew *lamed* is used specifically between noun phrases⁴⁴; and while the asseverative *l*+vowel carries emphatic or affirmative meaning, the Hebrew *lamed* is clearly copulative-appositional.

Another conclusion to be drawn from the data presented above is that the similarity between the copulative-appositional *lamed* that marks alternatives in lists (see examples 4, 7 and 8) and the Akkadian *lū* cannot be considered a key for reconstructing the development of the Hebrew usage. Previous scholars intuitively associated the Hebrew *lamed*, which

⁴² The term "asseverative particle" was introduced into the discussion by Huehnergard, who defined it as "one which accentuates the words or clause with which it is associated, affirming the truth or certainty of a statement, or emphasizing or topicalizing a particular constituent of a clause" (J. HUEHNERGARD, "Asseverative **la* and Hypothetical **lu*/*law* in Semitic", *JAOS* 103 [1983] 569-593, here 569 n. 1).

⁴³ HAUPT, "Particle"; BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss* §56a-b; RICHARDSON, "Parallels", 173-174; NÖTSCHER, "Zum emphatischen Lamed". Of the various alleged cognates, the Amorite usage is naturally the least established one, due to the generally poor documentation of this language. An alternative explanation of the Amorite *la*-, which may contribute to our understanding of the Hebrew usage, was suggested in F. GRANDE, *Copulae in the Arabic Noun Phrase. A Unified Analysis of Arabic Adnominal Markers* (SSLL 70; Leiden – Boston, MA 2013) 40-42. Note also that according to HUEHNERGARD, "Asseverative", the Akkadian *lū* should be omitted from this list of parallels, as it derives from a separate Proto-Semitic particle: while the various *l*-based asseverative particles can be traced back to a proclitic Proto-Semitic **la*-, Akkadian *lū*, according to Huehnergard, should be associated with Proto-Semitic **lū*/*law*, an independent particle that marked a statement as hypothetical.

⁴⁴ Previous attempts to show that the so-called emphatic *lamed* may be attached to verbs are unconvincing. The alleged examples are mostly cases of *lamed* that precedes an infinitive construct (on which see n. 8 above), or of the independent particle *ל*+verb. That *ל* is not a variant of the proclitic *lamed* is evident from the fact that they do not freely exchange: *ל* never appears between nominal phrases, only before verbs or verbal clauses. This difference accords with the cross-Semitic data as analyzed by HUEHNERGARD, "Asseverative". Huehnergard shows that the independent particle *ל* should be distinguished from the so-called emphatic *lamed*, as they derive from two different Proto-Semitic particles.

is common in lists⁴⁵, with examples from Akkadian such as: *šumma awīlum lū kaspam lū hurāšum lū wardam lū amtam [...] ū lū mimma šumšu [...] imhur*, “if a man should purchase silver, gold, a slave, a slave woman [...] or anything else [...]” (Code of Hammurabi §7)⁴⁶. A deeper look at the evidence indicates, however, that the similarity between the two usages is marginal to the case at hand. The Hebrew body of examples includes only three cases in which the *lamed* marks alternatives in lists, and these are best explained as deriving from the appositional function of *lamed* in Hebrew. Moreover, the Akkadian usage itself has been shown to be a secondary development within Akkadian, related to an independent Proto-Semitic particle **lū/law* rather than to the proclitic *l-*⁴⁷. At most, it may be suggested that the three relevant biblical examples 4, 7, and 8 secondarily reflect a contact with Akkadian. The Akkadian alternative-marker cannot, however, shed light on the larger problem of the origin of the Hebrew copulative-appositional *lamed*.

Given the lack of adequate Semitic parallels to the copulative-appositional *lamed*⁴⁸, one ought to consider the possibility that it constitutes an innovation in the Hebrew language rather than an ancient Semitic legacy. As shown above, the majority of examples appear in LBH and in the pentateuchal source P. If the copulative-appositional *lamed* is not a relic of the putative proto-LBH dialect standing at the basis of this variety, then it may be a novel usage introduced into it through language contact or via inner development.

An inner-development-based explanation was proposed by Polzin⁴⁹, who claimed that the *lamed* under discussion developed analogically from the accusative *lamed*. This idea is too speculative to be either confirmed or refuted. We should therefore explore the possibility of language contact. The natural candidate for such a scenario — the Aramaic language — does not use *lamed* as a copula or apposition marker⁵⁰. An alternative kind of language contact was suggested by Wilson-Wright, who analyzed three of the above examples: 37 (1 Chr 28,1), 44 (2 Chr 24,12),

⁴⁵ See, e.g., HAUPT, “Particle”; CASANOWICZ, “Emphatic”.

⁴⁶ See M. ROTH, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (WAW 6; Atlanta, GA 1997) 82.

⁴⁷ HUEHNERGARD, “Asseverative”.

⁴⁸ GRANDE, *Copulae*, attempts to reconstruct a pre-Semitic copulative particle *l-*, which is allegedly reflected in Arabic and Amorite, but his argumentation is problematic.

⁴⁹ POLZIN, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, 68.

⁵⁰ Kropat argued for an Aramaic inspiration on the basis of a single occurrence in Dan 4,33. This alleged example, which was proven problematic even by those who considered the *lamed* under discussion to be emphatic (see, e.g., NÖTSCHER, “Zum emphatischen Lamed”, 377; POLZIN, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, 67), becomes all the more irrelevant in light of our re-definition of the particle’s function as copulative-appositional.

and 45 (2 Chr 26,14), all belonging to the category of *lamed* before the last component in a list. Wilson-Wright associates this usage with the Old-Persian tendency to use the instrumental-ablative case to mark the final noun in a series of accusatives, arguing that the Hebrew usage is a syntactic calque of the Old-Persian one. This, in turn, constitutes another piece of evidence in Wilson-Wright's convincing argument for a direct, not Aramaic-mediated, contact between Old Persian and Late Biblical Hebrew during the Achaemenid period. Yet Wilson-Wright's suggestion, which is based on three examples, does not fit into the broader picture of the data presented above. Firstly, the alleged Old-Persian cognate usage only applies to a series of accusatives, while the category of *lamed* before the last component in a list includes series of items in various syntactic states (see examples 39-45 above). Secondly, Old-Persian marks the last component in a list as an ablative, while Hebrew marks it with a *lamed*, which does not denote the ablative in proper Biblical Hebrew, classic or late ⁵¹. Thirdly, as shown above, a *lamed* appearing before the last component in a list is but a single — probably secondary — category of the broader phenomenon of the copulative-appositional *lamed*. Yet while Wilson-Wright's specific suggestion concerning the origin of the *lamed* under consideration is problematic, his study should nevertheless be credited for having paved the way for exploring a possible direct contact between LBH and Old Persian in this and other cases. Against this background, we may examine a different possible link with Old Persian in the case of the copulative-appositional *lamed*.

The Old-Persian relative particle *hya-*, in its various inflections, may also serve as a connector between a noun and its apposition or attributive modifier ⁵². For instance ⁵³:

⁵¹ Wilson-Wright's reference to two problematic verses from Psalms (neither of which has been previously shown to belong to a late psalm) does not suffice as evidence for an ablative use of *lamed* in Late Biblical Hebrew.

⁵² Kent referred to this usage as a definite article: R.G. KENT, "The Old Persian Relative and Article", *Language* 20 (1944) 1-10; IDEM, *Old Persian*. Grammar, Texts, Lexicon (New Haven, CT 1950) 68. Later studies, however, have shown that *hya-* here serves as a connector between a noun phrase and its apposition or attributive. This function, which may be considered a predecessor of the Persian *ezafe*, is probably the result of a re-analysis of *hya-* in relative clauses without a copula. See A. ESTAJI, "Morphosyntactic Changes in Persian and Their Effects on the Syntax", *Grammatical Changes in Indo-European Languages* (eds. V. BUBENIK – J. HEWSON – S.R. ROSE) (Amsterdam – Philadelphia, PA 2009) 195-206; G. HAIG, "Linker, Relativizer, Nominalizer, Tense-Particle: On the Ezafe in West Iranian", *Nominalization in Asian Languages*. Diachronic and Typological Perspectives (eds. F. HA YAP – K. GRUNOW-HÄRSTA – J. WRONA) (Amsterdam – Philadelphia, PA 2011) 363-390.

⁵³ The examples below (both text and translation) are taken from KENT, *Old Persian*, 143 l. 58; 117 l. 44 *et passim*; and 118 l. 79 respectively.

Ištāšpam hya manā pitā

Hystapes, that is, my father (= Hystaspes my father)

Gaumāta hya maguš

Gaumāta, that is, the Magian (= Gaumāta the Magian)

kāra hya Bābiruviya

The people, that is, Babylonia (= The Babylonian people)

In its role as a connector between noun phrases, *hya-* may sometimes appear in possessive phrases with a genitive-marked noun ⁵⁴:

Nabuk^udracara amiy hya Naubnaitahyā

Nebukadrezzar the son, that is, of Nabonidus (= Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabonidus)

kāra hya Naditabairahyā

The army, that is, of Nidintu-Bel (= The army of Nidintu-Bel)

The latter usage would have been translated into Hebrew (esp. LBH) using a *lamed*, as in:

ראשי האבות ליהודה ובנימן

The heads of the families of Judah and Benjamin (Ezra 1,5)

ששבצר הנשיא ליהודה

Sheshbazzar the prince of Judah (Ezra 1,8)

It may cautiously be hypothesized that because *hya-* in possessive phrases is mirrored in Hebrew by a *lamed*, other uses of *hya-*, where it marks appositions or attributive modifiers of various types, analogically came to be reflected by *lamed* in LBH. If this tentative reconstruction is correct, then the copulative-appositional *lamed* may be regarded as an Old-Persian calque in LBH, thus joining additional evidence for a direct contact between the two languages in the Achaemenid Period, as collected by Wilson-Wright.

This explanation is, however, not without problems. It accounts for the majority of cases, where *lamed* is used before appositions (examples 1-23) and attributive modifiers (examples 32-38), but not for the cases where it serves as a copula. In addition, it limits the dating of all the extant examples to the Achaemenid Period, forcing us to ascribe occurrences in earlier books such as Jeremiah to later editorial strata dating from

⁵⁴ The examples below (both text and translation) are taken from KENT, *Old Persian*, 118 ll. 79 and 85 respectively.

the fifth century BCE. Thus, the problem of the origin of the copulative-appositional *lamed* has still not been fully resolved.

Finally, the fact that the *lamed* discussed here is not to be interpreted as emphatic does not altogether rule out the possibility of the existence of an emphatic *lamed* in other Hebrew environments. Thus, for instance, Whitley's elegant explanation of the so-called ethical *lamed* as emphatic deserves serious consideration⁵⁵. However, since the present study shows that the bulk of previously suggested examples of the alleged emphatic *lamed* belong in fact to a different category, the scope and grammatical conditioning of the possible *lamed emphaticum* in Biblical Hebrew must be re-examined on the basis of relevant data only.

IV. CONCLUSION

This article identifies a hitherto unknown particle in Biblical Hebrew: the copulative-appositional *lamed*. This *lamed* denotes equality or equivalence between (1) a noun phrase and its appositional and attributive modifiers, and (2) a noun phrase and its nominal predicate. Secondly, the particle also came to mark the last item in a list. The use of this particle is typical of two biblical corpora: (1) texts from the sixth century BCE, with an especially high frequency in LBH, and yet more prominently in the language of the Chronicler; and (2) the pentateuchal source P, whose dating is highly controversial.

The identification of the copulative-appositional *lamed*, whose previous interpretation as emphatic in nature can now be dismissed, enables a better understanding of the forty-five verses in which it occurs, shedding light on their specific meaning in context, including several subtle interpretive nuances. In addition, it contributes to the typology of Late Biblical Hebrew and of the not necessarily related language of the priestly source. At the same time, this newly identified particle presents us with several unresolved questions, first and foremost with the problem of the particle's origin. While several possible scenarios for the introduction of the copulative-accusative *lamed* into Hebrew were considered above, none of these is substantial enough to be considered decisive. The same is true about the circumstances that gave rise to the particle's unique patterns of distribution. The importance and weight of the linkage identified here between P and TBH-LBH can only be evaluated within the framework

⁵⁵ C.F. WHITLEY, "The Hebrew Emphatic Particle *l* with Pronominal Suffixes", *JQR* 65 (1974) 225-228.

of a comprehensive study of P's date, which is beyond the scope of the current study. These aspects of the copulative-appositional *lamed*, which still present us with more questions than answers, should await future research.

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SUMMARY

This paper identifies a hitherto unknown particle in Biblical Hebrew: the copulative-appositional *lamed*. This *lamed* denotes equality or equivalence between (1) a noun phrase and its appositional and attributive modifiers, and (2) a noun phrase and its nominal predicate. Secondly, the particle also came to mark the last item in a list. The paper collects forty-five occurrences of the copulative-appositional *lamed*, which interestingly appear in texts from the sixth century BCE and in the pentateuchal source P. The paper then discusses the implications of these distribution patterns, and suggests several possible scenarios for the origin of the copulative-appositional *lamed*.

THE NEW JERUSALEM AS A MOTHER:
INTERTEXTUALITY AMONG PS 87,5, GAL 4,26, AND
4 EZRA 10,7-10

I. INTRODUCTION

As a fruit of Hellenism, the concept of μητρόπολις was developed in the ancient world. To understand the biblical view of Jerusalem as a mother, I propose to examine carefully Psalm 87 and its re-readings and re-writings. This study seeks to expound the dialogism among the different speeches around the textual tradition rooted in and developed from Ps 87,5.

I am interested in understanding how biblical intertextuality works ¹. I do not think I am mistaken when I affirm that in this matter, up to now, we have not developed sufficiently powerful tools ². The phantasm of “parallelomania” returns when we treat the related texts as nothing but literal quotations of older texts ³. While I do not discredit the classic terms of quotation, allusion, echoes, etc., I think there are more elements involved. I develop my investigation through the study of timely intertextual cases in order to propose a more general theory ⁴. Here we will focus on the journey of Ps 87,5 through time, and so it will be necessary to examine

¹ See B.D. SOMMER, “Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible: A Response to Lyle Eslinger”, *VT* 46 (1996) 479-487; G.D. MILLER, “Intertextuality in Old Testament Research”, *Currents in Biblical Research* 9 (2010) 283-309; R.L. MEEK, “Intertextuality, Inner-Biblical Exegesis, and Inner-Biblical Allusion: The Ethics of a Methodology”, *Biblica* 95 (2014) 280-291; F. MILÁN, “Biblia e intertextualidad: una aproximación”, *Scripta Theologica* 48 (2016) 357-379.

² For a classic vision of this theme, see A.R. GORDON, “Psalm 87”, *The Biblical World* 33 (1909) 102-106; TH. BOOH, “Some Observations on Psalm LXXXVII”, *VT* 37 (1987) 16-25; M.S. SMITH, “The Structure of Psalm LXXXVII”, *VT* 38 (1988) 357-358; J.W.H. BOS, “Psalm 87”, *Interpretation* 47 (1993) 281-285; R.B. ALLEN, “Psalm 87. A Song Rarely Sung”, *Bibliotheca Sacra* 153 (1996) 131-142; J.A. EMERTON, “The Problem of Psalm LXXXVII”, *VT* 50 (2000) 183-199; E. ZENGER, “Psalm 87: A Case for Ideological Criticism?”, *Reading from Right to Left. Essays on the Hebrew Bible in Honour of David J.A. Clines* (eds. J. CHARY EXUM – H.G.M. WILLIAMSON) (JSOT SS 373; London – New York 2003) 450-460; V.C.M. MAIER, “»Zion wird man Mutter nennen« Die Zionstradition in Psalm 87 und ihre Rezeption in der Septuaginta”, *ZAW* 118 (2006) 582-596; IDEM, “Psalm 87 as a Reappraisal of the Zion Tradition and Its Reception in Galatians 4:26”, *CBQ* 69 (2007) 473-486; and N. RAUTENBACH, “YHWH Loves Zion – Zion Loves YHWH. An Exploration of the Working of Ancient Near Eastern Social Values in Psalm 87”, *OTE* 21 (2008) 422-434.

³ See S. SANDMEL, “Parallelomania”, *JBL* 81 (1962) 1-13.

⁴ When the dates of the documents are not known, we can speak of dependence between the different points of view within the traditions. When this dating is possible, we can also talk about textual dependencies.

ancient versions of Psalm 87 (MT, several versions of LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, Syr, Vg, Tg Ps) and some particular uses of Ps 87,5 within other texts (Gal 4,25-27 and 4 *Ezra* 10,7-10).

Contrary to other studies (see n. 2), the focus will not be on what the Psalmist wanted to say. His is not one of the voices we can invoke in this debate. The dialogism among some points of view starts from the Hebrew *textus receptus* and then proceeds following a chronological order. We need to be aware of changes in new invocations of the former speech, which means that we need some methods to detect new perspectives in the later texts.

I am using a methodology based on some definitions extracted from Mikhail Bakhtin's thought. He worked to understand the dialogical relationship among the diverse speeches within a canon, especially in Dostoevsky's novels.

The first intuition to hit me was the idea of the sociological dimension of language. Sometimes we think language is a static structure that can be materialized from its abstract space. From this point of view, we can say something new following the correct rules of grammar and the meaning of the words according to a dictionary's contents. In this view, every speech is either a new declaration or the repetition of an older text in an exact and static fashion, along with its bibliographical references. This is the usual way in which scholars work when they write. If we did not treat our sources as fixed in meaning or if we failed to disclose our sources, we would be accused of distortion or plagiarism.

However, the real world does not work like that, and the Bible operates in a way closer to real life than our scientific and academic labors. Bakhtin said that we always use a *borrowed language*, meaning we use *another person's speech*. In social life, we learn to speak after understanding what other people have said. When we adopt these expressions, we do so as a personal proposal. In that case, the expressions we use have a *double orientation*, and the relationship among them is not an irrelevant issue.

My goal is to point out a concrete example of biblical intertextuality, to show three basic tools Bakhtin offers us, and to indicate how they help us to understand the theological, historical, and literary implications in a deeper way.

II. JERUSALEM AS A MOTHER

Psalm 87 is one of the Korahites' songs about Zion. Other scholars have tried to understand the Hebrew version of this Psalm. While I begin with a

conviction regarding its ambiguity, I do not know if this ambiguity is to be attributed to the author's intention or to the transmitted text. The fact is that each intent for transmitting the Psalm needs an interpretation, which adds new material to the text. Some authors have suggested that some words or the order of the verses should be changed ⁵. I think those options entail applying a modern point of view to the text outside of its proper context of transmission, and it implies forgetting this transmission. I assume all texts travel with their traditions and form a whole with the other texts found in their common canon. Besides, the relationship among texts within a canon often needs to be clear and so able to mark the difference between canonical and extracanonical texts.

Psalm 87 tells us about Zion as a mother. The Psalmist describes a future Jerusalem where her children will be gathered in peace and where the books or registers in which their names will be written are kept. The problem is how to determine whether he is talking about only Jews, or Jews and proselytes, or a group that goes beyond the boundaries of Judaism. It depends on the interpreter. It is here where the interpreters develop a dialogical communication through the versions.

In Ps 87,5, we can perceive a twofold tendency. On one side, there is an opinion about the exclusivity of Jerusalem for Jews. Psalm 87 would be telling us something about the historical future of Jerusalem and its material reconstruction. On the other side is an interpretation that is more open and tells us about an eschatological and universal view.

We usually study ancient texts through their modern editions, constructed on the basis of a critical examination of existing manuscripts. However, when these texts were written, they were witnesses of a social dialogue that happened in a real society. When we study related texts, we can see that the texts are vehicles of social dialogue. That dialogue crystalizes in new texts that witness a historical process. This is why I think Bakhtin's thought and the diachronic canonical criticism as conceived by Sanders are able to help one another ⁶. A canon fixes an interpretation, and an interpretation produces a canon within a community with a collective identity through the action of its authorities. All this plays an important role in biblical studies, especially if we think about a progressive revelation in history up to the definitive one.

Psalm 87 is a song of Zion's exaltation, but the mystery is those who have been born in her; the decision is that of the reader. The context of

⁵ See GORDON, "Psalm 87", 102; BOOIJ, "Some Observations on Psalm 87", 16-17; EMERTON, "The Problem of Psalm LXXXVII", 183; and H.J. KRAUS, *Palms 60-150. A Commentary* (Continental Commentary; Philadelphia, PA 1989) 185.

⁶ See J.A. SANDERS, *Canon and Community* (Philadelphia, PA 1984) 22.

the Hebrew text is the destruction of Jerusalem by its enemies. The most probable reading understands the Psalm as a hopeful song for Jews who come to restore their capital, their identity symbol.

Another possible reading is to see Jerusalem already restored and receiving the help of the nations. This is the LXX's interpretation. It is the time of the Second Temple, in which Jews and proselytes can come as pilgrims bringing offerings to the Holy City and worshipping the true God. This reading shows the dignity of Israel and its peaceful triumph.

Besides that, we also can understand Psalm 87 more universally: all the nations have been born in Jerusalem because it is through the elected people that the other nations come to salvation. In that vision, the proselytes who recognize the true God have been born again in a singular way; all of them were enrolled in the divine registers of the Holy City.

III. METHOD AND DEFINITIONS

Let us look now at the method. We are going to follow some of Bakhtin's ideas. As I mentioned, each example of intertextuality shows a *hybrid construction*⁷. The former's speech appears again, but the new speakers have their own accent. This implies that the new utterance has a referential function towards its proper object and embodies a judgment about the previous *point of view*⁸. Bakhtin points out: "The chief subject of our investigation, one could even say its chief hero, will be double-voiced discourse, which

⁷ "What we are calling a hybrid construction is an utterance that belongs, by its grammatical (syntactic) and compositional markers, to a single speaker, but that actually contains mixed within it two utterances, two speech manners, two styles, two 'languages', two semantic and axiological belief systems. We repeat, there is no formal — compositional and syntactic — boundary between these utterances, styles, languages, belief systems; the division of voices and languages takes place within the limits of a single syntactic whole, often within the limits of a simple sentence. It frequently happens that even one and the same word will belong simultaneously to two languages, two belief systems that intersect in a hybrid construction and, consequently, the word has two contradictory meanings, two accents": M. BAKHTIN, "Discourse in the Novel", *The Dialogic Imagination. Four Essays* by M.M. Bakhtin (eds. and trans. M. HOLQUIST — C. EMERSON) (Austin, TX 1981) 259-423, here 304.

⁸ "All these phenomena, despite very real differences among them, share one common trait: discourse in them has a twofold direction — it is directed both toward the referential object of speech, as in ordinary discourse, and toward *another's discourse*, toward *someone else's speech*. If we do not recognize the existence of this second context of someone else's speech and begin to perceive stylization or parody in the same way ordinary speech is perceived, that is, as a speech directed only at its referential object, then we will not grasp these phenomena in their essence: stylization will be taken for style, parody simply for a poor work of art": M. BAKHTIN, "Discourse in Dostoevsky", *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (ed. and trans. C. EMERSON) (Theory and History of Literature 8; Minneapolis, MN 1984) 181-272, here 185.

inevitably arises under conditions of dialogic interaction, that is, under conditions making possible an authentic life for the word”⁹.

I distinguish three main phenomena: *stylization*, *parody*, and *hidden polemic*. *Stylization*¹⁰ consists of using the same speech in a new framework (*chronotope*). As a result, the new user of the speech expresses a minor refraction in the meaning because he is using those words for a new proposal in a new context. In those cases, the relationship between both dialogic actors is friendly.

The parodic use¹¹ of another’s speech (*parody*) is a device in which the new speaker uses the previous voice with the same words, but to convey the opposite meaning. To achieve this, some linguistic indicators are needed. The context shows the new and opposite framework.

The third possibility is a *hidden polemic*¹². Here again, the second voice is in opposition to the point of view of the first one. However, this

⁹ BAKHTIN, “Discourse in Dostoevsky”, 185.

¹⁰ “[The stylizer] uses another’s discourse precisely as other and in so doing casts a slight shadow of objectification over it. To be sure, the discourse does not become an object. After all, what is important to the stylizer is the sum total of devices associated with the other’s speech precisely as an expression of the particular point of view. He works with someone else’s point of view. Therefore, a certain shadow of objectification falls precisely on that very point of view, and consequently, it becomes [conventional]. The objectified speech of a character is never [conventional]. A character always speaks in earnest. The author’s attitude does not penetrate inside his speech — the author observes it from without. [Conventional] discourse is always double-voiced discourse. Only that which was at one time [unconventional], in earnest, can become [conventional]. The original direct and [unconventional] meaning now serves new purposes, which take possession of it from within and render it [conventional]”: BAKHTIN, “Discourse in Dostoevsky”, 189. In order to clarify the methodology, we propose to substitute the word “conditional” for the term “conventional”. We propose this change because “conventional” and “conditional” are rendered by the same word (*uslovnyi*) in Russian; in English, the parallelism of this sentence is lost.

¹¹ The situation is different with parody: “Here, as in stylization, the author again speaks in someone else’s discourse, but in contrast to stylization parody introduces into that discourse a semantic intention that is directly opposed to the original one. The second voice, once having made its home in the other’s discourse, clashes hostilely with its primordial host and forces him to serve directly opposing aims. Discourse becomes an arena of battle between two voices. [...] The voices are not only isolated from one another, separated by distance, but are also hostilely opposed. Thus in parody the deliberate palpability of the other’s discourse must be particularly sharp and clearly marked. Likewise, the author’s intentions must be more individualized and filled with specific content”: BAKHTIN, “Discourse in Dostoevsky”, 193.

¹² “In both stylization and parody [...] the author makes use precisely of other people’s words for the expression of his own particular intention. In the third variety [the hidden polemic], the other person’s discourse remains outside the limits of the author’s speech, but the author’s speech takes it into account and refers to it. Another’s discourse, in this case, is not reproduced with a new intention, but it acts upon influences and, in one way or another, determinates the author’s discourse, while itself remaining outside it. [...] In the hidden polemic the author’s discourse is directed toward its own referential object, as is any other discourse, but at the same time every statement about the object is constructed in

device is more difficult to see because another's speech does not appear in the new speech. In the new utterance, there has been enough information to see a dialogue in which the previous speech is silenced, but that is detected by the new speech. This new speech would not be understood if it had not taken into account the previous voice. This is a sophisticated method for distinguishing different points of view.

IV. RESULTS

The textual history of Isaiah 54 shows the ambivalent attitude of the scriptural authors toward the nations that did not share in God's covenant with Israel¹³. The central antinomy, typical of many passages in the Bible, is between particularism and universalism in divine salvific action. The two versions of Isa 54,6.15 in Hebrew (MT) and Greek (LXX) show two different points of view. The view of the MT looks for revenge over the nations who are seen as the enemy. The MT depiction of Jerusalem speaks about restoration, victory, and expansion. On the contrary, the LXX version displays Jerusalem as a refuge and Israel as a divine instrument for the salvation of the nations. After 70 CE, the viewpoint expressed in the MT would reappear in the Aramaic Targum (Tg) of Isaiah 54.

Similarly, the LXX¹ version of Ps 87,4-5, one of the two main textual traditions, invites the nations to take refuge in Jerusalem. It is easy to imagine this opening as occurring in the diaspora at a time when Jerusalem enjoyed a favorable period. In contrast, LXX² expresses doubts about this peaceful reconciliation. Was it the translator who introduced this shift in perspective? Or was the translator only reproducing a shift already found

such a way that, apart from its referential meaning, a polemical blow is struck at the other's discourse on the same theme, at the other's statement about the same object. A word, directed toward its referential object, clashes with another's word within the very object itself. The other's discourse is not itself reproduced, it is merely implied, but the entire structure of speech would be completely different if there were not this reaction to another person's implied words. [...] In a hidden polemic, on the other hand, the other's words are treated antagonistically, and this antagonism, no less than the very topic being discussed, is what determines the author's discourse. This radically changes the semantics of the discourse involved: alongside its referential meaning there appears a second meaning — an intentional orientation toward someone else's word. Such discourse cannot be fundamentally or fully understood if one takes into consideration only its direct referential meaning. The polemical coloration of the discourse appears in other pure language features as well: in intonation and syntactic construction": M. BAKHTIN, "Discourse in Dostoevsky", 195-196.

¹³ The strong connection between Isaiah 54 and Psalm 87 is revealed by its use in Gal 4,25-27 and *Midrash Tehillim* (Psalm 87), which texts express, in turn, a Christian and a rabbinic interpretation of Psalm 87.

in the Hebrew *Vorlage* (HV) ¹⁴? We cannot answer these questions with any certainty. If the HV was textually identical in both cases, the textual change in the two Greek manuscripts would have occurred in the translation. We do see that a similar change of attitude finds expression in some Hebrew versions constituting the HV of the LXX. We leave this point here so as not to fall into the so-called “parallelomania”. It is better to analyze and clarify the data we do have.

LXX² resolves the ambiguity present in the MT by asking a question about who has been born in Jerusalem, a form of question that expects a negative answer. We have a clear debate here, and this twofold comprehension motivated by MT’s ambiguity shows us that the Hebrew text of Psalm 87 present in the MT predates the LXX. This allows us to affirm, with some confidence, that the MT of Psalm 87 provides a reliable witness to the ancient Hebrew text of the Psalm.

The translation in LXX¹ offers a *hidden polemic* in relation to the MT. The new voice proves to be more favorable to non-Jews and shows Jerusalem as a mother for the nations. The new speech knows the former one, but it stands in opposition and does not mention the former speech. For this reason, the translation says that Jerusalem is a mother for all nations. One can ask: What kind of mother is Jerusalem? Historical or eschatological? That is the sort of question that other versions will answer. An eschatological perspective is adopted in Gal 4,25-27 and 4 *Ezra* 10,7-10. For this reason, both texts represent a kind of *stylization* of LXX¹, with each of them developing the sense of the earlier text in a different way.

Following Bakhtin’s categories, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion’s translations are, at the same time, a new *hidden polemic* against LXX¹ and a *stylization* of the MT. They try to correct LXX¹ by going back to the previous point of view. There is opposition to LXX¹ by a return to MT’s point of view, which they imitate by a *stylization*. Nevertheless, these Greek versions of Psalm 87 (second century CE) avoid MT’s ambiguity, and they remind readers of all that they had suffered at the hands of the nations in the past ¹⁵.

LXX² is also a *hidden polemic* against MT, but it is different from LXX¹. The doubt expressed in LXX² about those who claim to be born in Jerusalem is another particular phenomenon that must be examined in this case.

¹⁴ No texts of Psalm 87 have been found in Qumran. For that reason we cannot resolve this point.

¹⁵ In a later interpretation (*Midrash Tehillim*, eighth century CE), some kings of nations will come to Jerusalem with the Jews and bring treasures. They will be considered as born in the Holy City. See *Midrash on Psalms* (ed. W.G. BRAUDE) (Yale Judaica Series 13; New Haven, CT 1959) 74-79.

We have here a common rabbinic technique in which an affirmation is transformed into a negative rhetorical question; it is a variant of the rabbinic technique called *al-tiqrey*. Instead of making an ambiguous affirmation, the Greek translator poses a question that expects a negative answer. In that way, we can suppose a non-universal vision about the nations in a relationship with Jerusalem. The technique used here is halfway between a *parodic use* and a *hidden polemic*. We can understand LXX² as the same text as the MT but with a different intonation and conveying an opposite sense. Alternatively, we can view LXX² as a new text opposed to MT in a clearly expressed antagonism. But since we see only the translation of a supposed *Vorlage*, it is impossible to be more precise.

As a result of our investigation, we have seen the struggle among different groups about their judgment over a universalistic or particularistic conception of God's will. MT, Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus present a view that believes in a historically restored Israel. LXX² and Vg express a contrary view. While the former has only doubts about the final outcome, the latter makes fun of this hoped-for restoration. Gal 4,25-27, 4 Ezra 10,7-10, and the Targum of Psalm 87 (TgPs 87) express an eschatological view. The view expressed in Galatians sees all this as already partially fulfilled, while 4 Ezra and TgPs 87 see it as a future accomplishment. Both Galatians and 4 Ezra use the same image: Jerusalem as a mother. The Syriac translation (Syr) has a different perspective. This version talks about a personal character yet to come, a Messiah. Syr seems to talk about a historical person who has already come. This later view is very close to the Christian one.

What we can see after all this is a sample of social dialogism within the biblical context before the Canon was closed. In our historical and linguistic perspective, we see here a clear example of what Bakhtin proposes:

As a result of the work done by all these stratifying forces in language, there are no "neutral" words and forms — words and forms that can belong to "no one"; language has been completely taken over, shot through with intentions and accents. For any individual consciousness living in it, language is not an abstract system of normative forms but rather a concrete heteroglot conception of the world. All words have the "taste" of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a party, a particular work, a particular person, a generation, an age group, the day and hour. Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life, all words and forms are populated by intentions. Contextual overtones (generic, tendentious, individualistic) are inevitable in the word ¹⁶.

¹⁶ BAKHTIN, "Discourse in the Novel", 293.

V. DISCUSSION

1. *The Starting Point: Isaiah 54*

Now we will move to the biblical texts. I think all attempts to understand Psalm 87 by itself fail. A much better understanding results when interpreters search in their Scriptures for other texts that can be invoked as an interpretative key. Historically, the psalm we are dealing with has a strong connection to Isaiah 54. This point can be seen clearly because the interpretation expressed in Gal 4,25-27 and *Midrash Tehillim* on Psalm 87 shows this connection. Gal 4,25-27 is a text in which a clear mention of Ps 87,5 is made. At the same time, Gal 4,27 is a literal quotation of Isa 54,1 following the LXX version. In addition, *Midrash Tehillim* on Psalm 87 is a commentary on the psalm in the light of Isa 54,11-17¹⁷.

Isaiah 54 has two interesting points. First, the text has two parts: Isa 54,1-10, where Jerusalem is represented as a mother and wife; and Isa 54,11-17, where the gradual reconstruction of the city is described. Secondly, Isa 54,1-10 has a different meaning in its Hebrew and Greek recensions. In the MT, an exclusivist conception is expressed in which only Jews are called. The horizon described speaks of a historical restoration in which the enemies are punished. In contrast, in the Greek version, the meaning is modified in the sense of showing a more universalist opening in which foreigners also participate in true worship recognizing the true God.

With this interpretive key, also fed by other sections of Isaiah (e.g., 14,2) or, in general, Third Isaiah, Jerusalem is viewed as a mother to all people. In this context, the Temple is already fully operational, and the Jews of the diaspora have been able to spread their faith within a pagan context.

Isaiah 54 has two verses (6 and 15) in which the LXX differs from the MT. The differences reflect two contrasting points of view. Isa 54,6, in its Greek version, adds the negating adverb οὐχ, and this modification changes the meaning of the speech. In this new view, *Zion will not be* a “forsaken woman”. In the context of the restoration, where the Greek version transmits new ideas about the relationship between Jews and non-Jews, the Holy City is depicted as a welcoming woman for all foreigners.

Moreover, if we pay attention to verse 15, we will be able to perceive the significant transformation of that verse. The MT reads: *הֵן גּוֹר יְגוֹר אַפֶּס* (“See, if anyone does *attack you*, it will not be from me; whoever will *attack you*, *they will fall* because of you”). The

¹⁷ See *Midrash on Psalms*, 74-79.

twofold interpretation of Isa 54,15 (MT versus LXX) arises from the twofold meaning of the Hebrew root גור. This word can be understood as “to attack/ to besiege” or as “to inhabit a foreign land”. The MT uses the first meaning, and the LXX uses the second. Thus, the Greek version says: ἰδοὺ προσήλυτοι προσελεύσονται σοι δι’ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ καταφεύξονται (“Behold, *proselytes* will *come* to you through me and will run to you *for refuge*”). Therefore, it is easy to see the change occurring in the transmission and the different points of view involved.

2. A Significant Difference between the MT and LXX Versions of Ps 87,4

The next issue of focus is the difference in v. 4 between the Hebrew and Greek versions. The ambiguity resident in MT Ps 87,4 does not disappear, but the Greek version is clearer and indicates a more universal vision about the nations. Thus, the final part of the verse changes to the plural and seems to indicate that the nations have been born in Jerusalem as well. The MT text reads: אוֹכִיר רַהַב וּבָבֶל לִידְעֵי הַנָּה פִּלְשֵׁת וְצוּר עַם כּוּשׁ זֶה יֵלֵד שָׁם (“Let me recall Rahab [Egypt] and Babylon among those who know me. Look, Philistia and Tyre together with Cush [Ethiopia] — *this one [man] was born there*”¹⁸). However, the LXX translates the verse as follows: μνησθήσομαι Ρααβ καὶ Βαβυλῶνος τοῖς γινώσκουσίν με καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀλλόφυλοι καὶ Τύρος καὶ λαὸς Αἰθιοπῶν οὗτοι ἐγενήθησαν ἐκεῖ (“I will remind Rahab (Egypt) and Babylon to them that know me, behold also foreigners, and Tyre, and the people of the Ethiopians, *these were born there*”). The change from singular to plural clarifies the expression. While MT does not tell us who was born in Zion (though implying, most probably, every Jew), the LXX version, with this plural, makes readers understand that all nations have their origin in Zion. This is a radically new theology. Additionally, the Greek version of the LXX uses the verb γίνομαι in the final clause instead of τίκτω, which was the term adopted in later Greek translations of the second century CE. Those later texts strengthened an ethnic bond, instead of a spiritual one. Indeed, Aquila and Symmachus say: οὗτος ἐτέχθη ἐκεῖ.

Thus, the interpretation expressed in the LXX contrasts with that of Aquila and Symmachus. In their visions, this verse reminds Jews of the suffering that was caused by the Babylonians, which led to the renewal of a negative perspective in their communities. It is easy to figure out the reason: Zion no longer exists after 70 CE, and the Romans are now the

¹⁸ *The Hebrew Bible. A Translation with Commentary* (ed. R. ALTER) (New York 2019) 209.

new Babylonians. Aquila's text says: ἀναμνήσω ὀρμήματος καὶ Βαβυλῶνος τοὺς γινώσκοντάς με ("I will remind them that know me of the violence of the Babylonians"). The text of Symmachus reads: ἀναμνήσω ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ Βαβυλῶνα τοῖς εἰδόσι με ("I will remind them that know me of the pride of the Babylonians")¹⁹.

3. *The Twofold Greek Version of Ps 87,5*

Now it is possible to examine anew verse 5, taking into account what we have just seen. It is not surprising that the ambiguity of the HV of LXX Ps 87,5 (which we contend is faithfully preserved in the MT) would be resolved by the Greek translator responsible for creating a new and clearer text. It should even be expected in several versions, as it is (LXX¹ and LXX²). That is why LXX¹ does not astonish us. LXX¹ reads: μήτηρ Σιών ἐρεῖ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐγενήθη ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθεμελίωσεν αὐτήν ὁ ὕψιστος ("A man shall say, *Zion is my mother*; and such a man was born in her; and the Highest himself has founded her"). Following Bakhtin's categories, Ps 87,5, in its main Greek reading (LXX¹), implies a *hidden polemic* because the text is modified. There is a new voice in which we can hear a new and more universal thought fighting with the previous one. Zion is now a mother.

This expression is surprising. It is what one reads in Gal 4,25-26 and 4 Ezra 10,7-10, and for this reason we can conclude some form of textual dependency. However, this is not the only case of a metaphorical use of mother in the Bible. This is not a common use, but we can find it also in Ezekiel 19 and Jeremiah 50. In the first case, two elegies are given concerning the Jerusalem destroyed by the Babylonians. This image presents Jerusalem as a desolate mother. In the second case (cf. Jer 50,12), the prophet Jeremiah talks about Babylon's destruction by her enemies, and the city is again depicted as a desolate mother. Taking this into account, LXX¹ strikes our imagination. The translator seems to use a peculiar biblical image for his purpose. He takes another's words to express an opposite message in a relationship with Zion-Jerusalem. So, it would seem to be a *parodic phenomenon*. While this remains only a conjecture, there are enough semantic connections among these texts to justify some measure of certainty in this conclusion. Similar words and an opposite meaning — now as a positive and spiritual restoration of Zion with the nations — mark a *parodic use* following Bakhtin's expression.

¹⁹ See *Origenis hexaplorum quae supersunt: sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum vetus testamentum fragmenta. Post Flaminium nobilium, Drusium, et Montefalconium, adhibita etiam versione Syro-Hexaplari* (ed. F. FIELD) (Hildesheim 1964) vol. 2, 238.

On the other hand, some manuscripts (e.g., LXX²) attest to another *hidden polemic*, probably influenced by LXX¹, trying to return to a non-universal point of view. The transmitted text in LXX² reads: μὴ τῇ Σιὼν ἐρεῖ ἄνθρωπος [...] (“Will a man say to Zion [...]?”). What we have here is a question for which a negative answer is expected. This point of view may have come from someone who did not have a very positive opinion about Zion’s real power. We can imagine several socio-historical milieus in which this interpretation would fit ²⁰.

Moreover, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion — the last in a stronger connection with LXX — offer a translation closer to the point of view adopted in the MT, expressing a rhetorical answer to the universalism contained in the LXX¹ version ²¹. It is easy to imagine their view of Jerusalem when its name had become Aelia Capitolina and a Jewish reconstruction was no longer possible. The only way they could understand LXX¹ was through a Christian perspective. As this was not easy, they had to change the Psalm. They did so by going back to another point of view (which we know from the MT) and refracting its sense. It is possible to see a *hidden polemic* here against LXX¹ and a *stylization* of the Proto-MT or another Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX with a non-universal vision.

4. Does Gal 4,25-26 quote Ps 87,5 (LXX¹)?

In the NT, the Pauline point of view seems to be a *stylization* of LXX¹, and the ambiguity is solved because two cities are invoked. These two cities represent two different covenants. The first one is the *historical* Jerusalem, which symbolizes the Old Testament and resembles the slave Hagar. The second one is the Jerusalem *from above*. This is the new Church, the community of Christ’s disciples with its spiritual and eschatological dimensions, and it resembles Sara, the free wife. This understanding is evident in Gal 4,25-27. The author’s reasoning is easy to see. The antithetical presentation of the Judaizers’ interference among the Galatians is expressed as follows:

²⁰ There is a connection between LXX² and Vg. We leave it aside for reasons of brevity. Jerome’s text reads: “Numquid Sion dicet, homo et homo natus est in ea et ipse fundavit eam Altissimus?”

²¹ See *Origenis hexaplorum*, vol. 2, 238-239. These texts are as follows:

Α. καὶ τῇ Σιὼν λεχθήσεται, ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἔτεχθη ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδράσει αὐτήν.
 Σ. περὶ τε Σιὼν λεχθήσεται καθ’ ἕκαστον, ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ἐτέχθη ἐκεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἡδρα-
 σεν αὐτήν ὁ ὕψιστος.
 Θ. καὶ τῇ Σιὼν ῥηθήσεται, ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐγεννήθη ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς [ἐθεμελίωσεν
 αὐτήν, καὶ] ἡτοίμασεν αὐτήν ὁ ὕψιστος.

γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἀβραάμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, ἓνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἓνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας δι' ἐπαγγελίας. ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὗται γάρ εἰσιν δύο διαθῆκαι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ. τὸ δὲ Ἀγάρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ· συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ, δουλεύει γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς. ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν (Gal 4,22-26).

Scripture says that Abraham had two sons, one by the slave girl and one by the freewoman. The son of the slave girl came to be born in the way of human nature; but the son of the freewoman came to be born through a promise. There is an allegory here, these women stand for the two covenants. The one given on Mount Sinai, that is Hagar, whose children are born into slavery; now Sinai is a mountain in Arabia and represents Jerusalem in its present state, for she is in slavery together with her children. But the Jerusalem above is free, and that is the one that is our mother (Gal 4,22-26, NJB).

While this is undoubtedly a very strong statement, it remains uncertain whether Paul is quoting Ps 87,5 (LXX¹). To understand the polemic, we must determine to whom the promises were directed ²². It is possible that Paul was using Psalm 87 in the LXX¹ version in combination with a metaphorical use of the two women of Genesis. Obviously, in this text, the theme is broader. In Galatians, it is no longer Zion but Jerusalem. This Jerusalem is not the historical one, but it is a way to point to a new, metaphysical, and eschatological realm.

Although the possible textual connections are not enough to prove that Gal 4,26 depends on Ps 87,5, it may be said, nevertheless, that the ancient debate present in the Psalm 87 transmission history was renewed in the Galatian controversy. The voices in contention can be compared; the antagonistic positions are very similar. We have to remember our methodological point of view. We are not talking about a literary dependency between texts but about the social debates of which the texts are only a historical witness. What we are interested in is analyzing the discourses involved and the way in which these social debates modified special texts within a community.

To name Jerusalem as a mother in a positive sense is so unusual that the presence of this point of view in Gal 4,26 reclaims our attention and makes possible a Pauline use of Psalm 87 as a new argument in the debate. Betz offers a synthesis of several Jewish conceptions about the future and expected Jerusalem:

²² For a more general and contemporary description of social dialogue between Jews and Christians, see C. LEAL – P. IVANECKÝ, “Un desacuerdo religioso: el diálogo judío-cristiano en sus etapas”, *Scripta Theologica* 51 (2019) 367-394.

In Jewish apocalypticism we can distinguish between various types of the concept. An older type expects the historical city to be rebuilt in the eschatological age (Isa 54:10ff.; 60–66; Ezek 40–48; Tob 13:9–18; 14:7; *Jub* 4,26; 2 *Apoc Bar* 4:2–7; 32:2–3). Or, the “earthly” Jerusalem is to be replaced by a new Jerusalem, descending from heaven (4 *Ezra* 7:26; 10:40ff.; 1 *Enoch* 90:28f). This replacement may be regarded as the fulfillment of the old or its destruction by the “new aeon” (Rev 3:12; 21:2ff.). Paul’s concept is still different, his “heavenly Jerusalem” is pre-existent and remains in heaven; those who are to dwell in it must ascend to it (2 *Enoch* 55:2). This concept is found, e.g., in 2 *Apoc Bar* 4:1–6²³.

Paul has taken a great leap in the interpretation. What we have seen until now regarding Psalm 87 and its translations concentrates on historical Jerusalem as a concrete topographical place and a political reality. In Galatians 4, however, Paul proposes a more universal and radical novelty. Consequently, to proclaim this new speech Paul needs new resources. Paul’s biblical exegesis must have sounded very forceful. To identify his contemporary Jewish world with Hagar the slave constituted a very harsh declaration. Nevertheless, this speech was directed to the Galatians, and not directly to Jews. This point helps us understand Paul’s rhetoric. In any case, what we can see here is a possible *stylization* of an old speech present in the LXX¹ version of Ps 87,5. The new Christian reality, the Christian Church to which Jews and Gentiles are called, is a mother. She is a mother because she is bringing forth a multitude of new children. This is not a future promise but a present reality in the Pauline communities.

Bakhtin’s tools help us see how Paul picked up some rhetorical and biblical devices, well known in his time, to make his new declaration. As Kraus observes regarding Ps 87,5: “The statement in v. 5a is to glorify Zion. The sanctuary of Israel, once the center of the tribes that had their homes in Palestine (Ps 122,4), now as the city of the *עליון* has a universal meaning. Zion is the mother city of the people of God who are dispersed among the nations”²⁴. So, as Kraus says, Zion is a “pneumatic reality” instead of a political one. Besides this, he sees as possible — following Kittel — a wider perspective:

After all, would it not be possible to think of proselytes in vv. 6a, 4b/6b, 4a and 5a? R. Kittel calls Psalm 87 the “Pilgrimage Song of the Proselytes.” In that case the “enumeration of nations” in v. 6a would have to be understood in the sense that Yhwh is pointing to foreign areas from which people were won who are now being entered in the “book of life.” For this view of the text, a series of important parallel passages might be cited. To begin with,

²³ H.D. BETZ, *Galatians*. A Commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Churches in Galatia (Hermeneia; Philadelphia, PA 1979) 246.

²⁴ KRAUS, *Psalms 60–150*, 188.

Isa 56:4ff., here the reference is obviously to the proselytes to whom “citizen rights” are granted in Jerusalem, an “everlasting name” is given to them in the sanctuary on Zion. In addition, there are in Isa 55f. individual statements that speak of a surprising abundance of children in Jerusalem in the end-time. The children born to Jerusalem are heathen who have joined themselves to Israel, Isa 49:20ff.; 54:1ff.; 66:7ff. Thus v. 5a too could be understood in the context of the passages cited. And yet the interpretation that points to Israel seems more obvious. According to Isa 60:4f. the members of Israel are the ones who are gathered on Mount Zion ²⁵.

This hope could be seen by Paul as fulfilled in his apostolic action. For this reason, all this would be expressed through a *stylization* of an old and known speech (Ps 87,5 LXX¹). A former Jewish expression of openness to universal salvation was taken up by Paul again in a new context characterized by a new exclusivity among the Judaists that may have arisen from friction with the Romans. What we have here is the use of the same word of another’s speech with a similar meaning in a new “chronotope”. In Bakhtin’s framework, this is a *stylization*.

5. *A Jewish Vision of Zion as a Mother after 70 CE: 4 Ezra 10,7-10*

After the destruction of Jerusalem, a new hope was needed. The event resonated with Judah’s experience of the Babylonian captivity. In the aftermath, the perspective was hopelessly negative, and the only relief was to anticipate a future divine intervention that would restore what was lost. That is what can be found in *4 Ezra*’s fourth vision, which depicts a new Jerusalem raised up as the mother of all who are saved. Whoever survives the final judgment will become part of that family. There is no hope for a historical restoration here ²⁶.

For Zion, the *mother of us all*, is in deep grief and great humiliation. It is most appropriate to mourn now, because we are all mourning, and to be sorrowful, because we are all sorrowing; [...] we, the whole world, for *our mother*. Now ask the earth, and she will tell you that it is she who ought to mourn over so many who have come into being upon her. And from the beginning *all have been born of her*, and others will come; and behold, almost all go to perdition, and a multitude of them are destined for destruction (*4 Ezra* 10,7-10) ²⁷.

²⁵ KRAUS, *Psalms 60–150*, 189.

²⁶ See H. SIMIAN-YOFRE, “Jerusalem as Mother in Bar 4,5–5,9”, *Family and Kinship in the Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature*. Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2012/2013 (ed. A. PASSARO) (Berlin – Boston, MA 2013) 373.

²⁷ B.M. METZGER, “The Fourth Book of Ezra. A New Translation and Introduction”, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments (ed. J.H. CHARLESWORTH) (Garden City, NY 1983) 546.

The main intuition here is that *4 Ezra* expresses a negative and pessimistic outlook within the ordinary human framework. That is why Jerusalem does not exist anymore. From that moment, only a far distant mystic figure is expected. Although the author expresses a Judaeo-centric vision, surprisingly it includes the restoration of a multitude from the other nations. For him, Israel has offered a divine salvation to them, even though they have not all accepted it. Many of them will be condemned, but some will be saved. Metzger helps us understand *4 Ezra*'s milieu:

One [...] theological outlook deserves comment. This is his universalism, shown in his world-embracing solicitude not only for his own nation, but for all people whose wickedness will bring them to a tragic fate in the next life. His pathetic lament concerns humanity as a whole, regardless of racial origins (7:[62-69]). In fact, the compassion of Ezra for the lost seems at times to exceed that attributed by the author to God himself (cf. 8:37-62), for when he makes intercession at length on behalf of the mass of mankind who, as sinners, will be doomed, his prayer is in vain. He is told bluntly, "Many have been created, but few will be saved" (8:3)²⁸.

4 Ezra's point of view has several similarities to Gal 4,26, but their spiritual contexts are different. What we cannot deny is that these two points of view had a close linguistic formulation. Both used the metaphor of Jerusalem as a mother, making use of the expression in LXX¹ through two different stylizations. We cannot say anything certain about a possible relation between the two visions, but if there were a connection, we would judge that one vision was a *parodic use* of the other. However, it is impossible to say which one came first and influenced the other.

6. Other Later Jewish Visions: Syr, TgPs, and Midrash Tehillim

After 135 CE, the hope for a historical restoration of Jerusalem disappears, and the Greek recensions made by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, as well as TgPs and *Midrash Tehillim*, project an eschatological messianism. In these texts, Jerusalem is no longer depicted as a mother.

In the Targum, we can distinguish a *hidden polemic* of the MT. It seems that another point of view was adopted. Depending on the readings, David and Solomon are the ones born in Zion. The text seems to talk of two cities: the old Jerusalem founded by the kings, and a future Jerusalem that God will establish "above". There is no hope for a historical restoration here. The Aramaic translator wrote: "And of Zion it will be said, 'King

²⁸ METZGER, "The Fourth Book of Ezra", 521.

David and Solomon his son were anointed [brought up] within her; and God will establish her on high [forever]’” (TgPs 87,5)²⁹.

The reference to the two kings in this text might seem strange, but this addition is not without merit. Ps 87,6 in the Vulgata reads: *Dominus narrabit in scriptura populorum et principum horum qui fuerunt in ea*. This translation follows the text of the LXX: κύριος διηγῆσεται ἐν γραφῇ λαῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων τούτων τῶν γεγεννημένων ἐν αὐτῇ. The word ἀρχόντων probably came from a particular reading of the Hebrew text. The first word of v. 7 in Hebrew may have been treated by the Greek translator as the last word of v. 6. Besides that, he would have made a change in the diachronic accent of the letter *shin* of this word (שָׁרִים changed to שָׂרִים). For this reason, in the Greek version, instead of *singers*, we find *leaders* or *princes*. This particular point will be interesting again in a moment when we look at the Syriac version of Psalm 87.

What we can say about the targumic version of Ps 87,5-8 is that a different hidden polemic against the MT forms a new speech. At the same time, we have a minor *stylization* here because this version follows the MT and does not include any allusion to Jerusalem as a mother. On the other hand, the ambiguous claim that “every man was born there” is interpreted to mean the birth of kings. However, I see a *hidden polemic* at the end of v. 5 because we do not have “He, the Most High, makes it firm-founded,” but “God shall build it *above*”. This thought is similar to that of Paul and 4 *Ezra*. This is an interesting idea. This Aramaic version does not translate the MT, as the LXX did. The translator changes the text to straighten out the peculiar syntax of the Hebrew. The last word of v. 5 is no longer a divine name but an adverbial complement of the verb in the phrase. This point connects with Paul’s reading (ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν). However, we cannot say anything about the relationship between the two texts. In all likelihood, the two visions came from a common milieu rather than from direct contact between the two texts.

Although from a chronological point of view, the Syriac version of Psalm 87 should be considered before TgPs, paying attention to it now offers a clearer perspective. The Syriac version of the Psalm looks like the Targum. The ambiguity of the MT disappears, and the Psalm goes on to talk about the founder of the city. This version reads: “And of Zion it is said, that a *mighty man* was born in her, and *he* hath established her”³⁰. This powerful person is not identified. We may imagine that the author

²⁹ *The Targum of Psalms* (ed. D.M. STEC) (Collegeville, MN 2004) 165. The bracketed phrases indicate the main variants in the transmitted text.

³⁰ *A Translation of the Syriac Peshito Version of the Psalms of David* (ed. A. OLIVER) (Boston, MA – London 1861) 187.

was thinking of King David, while Christians would have seen some reference to Jesus here and to his resurrection. What is certain is that the text does not mention God. This is a surprising change. In a Christian vision, it would not be so. However, in the Jewish vision, this would make sense if the text were talking about the future Messiah, even though the text was written in the past tense. The only solution to this problem is to think about a Christian Syriac reception of the Psalm. Other instances in the Syriac Old Testament show the same pattern.

VI. CONCLUSION

Our goal was to better understand the social dialogue among the different communities with regard to the opening to Gentiles in the biblical framework. In particular, we have focused on the interpretation of Psalm 87 regarding the universal or exclusive view about the destiny of the nations. All the reasoning in each step through time is based on a previous debate already manifested in texts. This friction point was one of the main theological battles within the biblical community and became commonplace among some Jewish communities around the beginning of the common era. The origin of Christianity may have played a role in the transition from the portrait of Jerusalem as a desolate woman to being a mother for the nations through a dialogical debate among different groups. As a fruit of this debate, of which certain texts are our only witnesses, the different interpretations of Psalm 87 emerged. Some of them were exclusivist, others were universalist, while still others adopted a middle position between the two extremes.

We have tried to use Bakhtin's analytic categories to evaluate the interaction between texts. We cannot have complete assurance about all the affirmations we have made in this paper. A complete verification in a humanistic field is impossible. However, I think Bakhtin's approach helps us to make some evaluation and offers an effective method for understanding better the relationship among the different speeches that find a voice in biblical literature in the process of the formation of a particular canon. Each speech, manifested in its concrete text, plays its role in the historical contention. Taking this into account, it is easier to understand the textual variants as substantive contributions to the ongoing dialogue, and not simply as corrections or clarifications of a copyist or translator.

In 1961, Samuel Sandmel pointed out the danger of "parallelomania". He denounced the hypothetical historical reconstructions based on the probable dependence among texts. The exclusive study of texts does not seem to resolve the problem and can lead to nonsensical conclusions.

Nevertheless, sociological stylistics make it possible to identify the processes involved, to transcend the texts' materiality, and to enter into the debate among the different points of view in the social framework.

The typologies we have employed in this paper are tools that, so far, have been rarely used. From the point of view of the study of the ideas that precede the documents, we can say that Bakhtin's intuitions help us to understand better how to bring variations together. This framework helps us to detect the double-voiced discourse present in the quotations and to gain a better perception of the ideological debate that they reveal. Rather than treating the differences as false quotations or inadequate translations, we should see, instead, a discussion from different points of view, a dialogue among different ways of understanding the world.

Changes in texts can only be accepted if something has happened. From our standpoint, we come to suspect that later authors have made fraudulent use of authoritative documents. We must acknowledge, however, that ancient writers did not share this standpoint.

In each new speech, the new word that is pronounced develops and fulfills a previous word already spoken. Thus, a past object is not reproduced, but a novelty is enunciated, taking into account a previous element with which a dialogue is established. What is said is not a repetition but the result of a new mode of seeing the world after it has changed. We recognize a dialogical phenomenon unfolding continuously in history, resulting in the coexistence between tradition and development.

This kind of systematic use of the texts can permit a more accurate and better articulated analysis of intertextuality.

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SUMMARY

Some intuitions of sociological stylistics prompt us to perceive how the intertextual relationship among documents is the reflection of a concrete and historical social dialogism. This work first analyzes the dependencies among various versions of Ps 87,5 and then traces the influence of that text on Gal 4,26, and 4 *Ezra* 10,7-10, taking into account their different points of view. These concrete texts show an intertextual dependence in which it is possible to appreciate the historical novelty that originates from the new enunciation of each text. Although each new context modifies the use of the previous authoritative word, it does so in order to preserve it.

ENTERING INTO THE TEST:
PS 155,11B (11QPS^A 155 [SYR III]) AS A HELP
TO UNDERSTANDING MATT 6,13A AND LUKE 11,4B

Since the *Fæder ūre* of Old English passed through the *Oure Fadir* of Middle English to give way to the *Our Father* of Modern English, the text has undergone numerous and sometimes conflicting interpretations. The result has been ever-new translations which attempt to penetrate the meanings contained in the Greek texts of Matthew and Luke which have come down to us. In adding to the list of interpretations, this contribution will focus, in particular, on the conclusion of the *Our Father*, especially on the final petition ¹, which the worshipper addresses to the Father who is in heaven, the petition which Jerome translates with *et ne nos inducas in temptationem*, according to the version of Luke 11,4b. In this connection, v. 11b of Psalm 155 (11QPs^a 155) seems to provide an interesting starting point for determining a possible Jewish background against which the formula found in Luke 11,4b, as also in Matt 6,13a — καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν — could have been modelled. This could also be a helpful guide to its translation.

I. THE TEXT OF PS 155,11-14 (11QPS^A 155, COL. XXIV,
LL. 10-13A [SYR. III]) AND ITS LITERARY GENRE

It is to Benno Jacob (1862-1945) especially that we owe the first scientifically structured attempt to identify a specific class of “psalms of sickness” within the Psalter ². Since then, beginning with the seminal works of Hermann Gunkel ³ and Sigmund Mowinckel ⁴, there have been many important studies devoted to this particular genre of composition ⁵.

¹ For convenience, when I speak of the “final petition”, I am referring to the Lucan redaction (11,4b). In Matthew’s version (6,13a), the petition in question — the sixth — is formally the penultimate one.

² B. JACOB, “Beiträge zu einer Einleitung in die Psalmen”, ZAW 17 (1897) 48-80.

³ H. GUNKEL – J. BEGRICH, *Einleitung in die Psalmen*. Die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels. Zu Ende geführt von Joachim Begrich (Göttingen 1933).

⁴ S.O.P. MOWINCKEL, *Psalmstudien I*. Åwän und die individuellen Klagepsalmen (Kristiania 1921).

⁵ By way of example, we record here only some contributions which are particularly focused on the study of the so-called “psalms of sickness” and on the dimension of the sick person in the Psalter: W. EBSTEIN, *Die Medizin im Alten Testament* (Stuttgart 1901;

According to Klaus Seybold's threefold classification of the "psalms of sickness and healing" (*Krankheits- und Heilungspsalmen*)⁶, 11QPs^a 155, otherwise known as Psalm III of the five Syriac apocryphal psalms⁷, is

repr. München 1965); P. DHORME, "L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien", *RB* 29-32 (1920-1923) 465-506; 517-540; 489-517; 185-212; J. PREUSS, *Biblisch-talmudische Medizin*. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Heilkunde und der Kultur überhaupt (Berlin 1923); A. LODS, "Les idées des Israélites sur la maladie, ses causes et ses remèdes", *Vom Alten Testament*. Karl Marti Festschrift (ed. K. BUDE) (BZAW 41; Berlin 1925) 181-193; H. BIRKELAND, *Die Feinde des Individuums in der israelitischen Psalmenliteratur*. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der semitischen Literatur- und Religionsgeschichte (Oslo 1933); H. SCHMIDT, *Die Psalmen* (HAT 1.15; Tübingen 1934); Chr. BARTH, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des Alten Testaments* (Zollikon 1947); W. VON SIEBENTHAL, *Krankheit als Folge der Sünde*. Eine medizinhistorische Untersuchung (Hannover 1950); A. WEISER, *Die Psalmen übersetzt und erklärt* (ATD 14-15; Göttingen 1950); H. DUESBERG, *Le psautier des malades* (BVC 3; Maredsous 1952); G.R. DRIVER, "Some Hebrew Medical Expressions", *ZAW* 65 (1953) 255-262; J.W. WEVERS, "A Study in the Form Criticism of Individual Complaint Psalms", *VT* 6 (1956) 80-96; F. MICHAELI, "Les malades et le temple dans l'Ancien Testament", *EeT* 21 (1958) 3-12; P. HUMBERT, "Maladie et médecine dans l'Ancien Testament", *RHPHr* 44 (1964) 1-29; R. MARTIN-ACHARD, "La prière des malades dans le psautier d'Israël", *LV* 68 (1964) 25-43 = IDEM, *Approche des Psaumes* (CTh 60; Neuchâtel 1969) 49-65; T. COLLINS, "The Physiology of Tears in the Old Testament", *CBQ* 33 (1971) 18-38, 185-197; E.S. GERSTENBERGER, "Der klagende Mensch. Anmerkungen zu den Klagegeatungen in Israel", *Probleme biblischer Theologie*. Gerhard von Rad zum 70. Geburtstag (ed. H.W. WOLFF) (Münich 1971) 64-72; K. SEYBOLD, "Krankheit und Heilung. Soziale Aspekte in den Psalmen", *BiKi* 4 (1971) 107-111; K. SEYBOLD, *Das Gebet des Kranken im Alten Testament*. Untersuchungen zur Bestimmung und Zuordnung der Krankheits- und Heilungspsalmen (BWANT 99; Stuttgart 1973); F. LINDSTRÖM, *Suffering and Sin*. Interpretation of Illness in the Individual Complaint Psalms (CB.OT 37; Stockholm 1994); A. BERLEJUNG, "«Ich bin der Herr, dein Arzt». Krankheit und Heilung im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament", *WUB* 77 (2015) 26-33.

⁶ SEYBOLD, *Das Gebet des Kranken* [n. 5], 9: *a*) compositions to be considered *with certainty* as psalms of sickness and healing (Psalms 38; 41; 88; 11QPs^a 155 [Sy III]); *b*) compositions to be considered *very probably* as psalms of sickness and healing (Psalms 30; 39; 69; 102; 103; Isa 38,9-20); *c*) compositions to be considered *with some probability* as psalms of sickness and healing (Psalms 6; 13; 32; 51; 91).

⁷ As now seems clear, 11QPs^a 155 can be recognised as the Hebrew *Vorlage* which was used as the starting point for the corresponding Syriac psalm. Naturally, this does not mean that the Syriac translator had this same Hebrew ms. before him, but that, at least, he had available copies very similar to it. In any case, a good 95% of the Syriac text corresponds to the Hebrew text found at Qumran.

Concerning the presence of Psalm 155 in the Peshitta Psalter, it turns out to be quite late. This psalm appears only in one ms. of the twelfth century (12t4), and in one from the nineteenth century (19d1), in which it appears together with Psalms 151-154 as an appendix to the prophetic books. Apart from these biblical mss., Psalm 155, together with Psalms 151-154, is found in mss. later than the fourteenth century, sometimes also with different numeration, as material inserted to divide the first and second parts of a theological work of Elijā of Anbār, a Nestorian bishop of the tenth century. For all this, see I. CARBAJOSA, "11QPs^a and the Hebrew Vorlage of the Peshitta Psalter", *ArSt* 2 (2004) 3-24, esp. 4 and n. 6. For the text of reference, see W. BAARS (ed.), "Apocryphal Psalms", in INSTITUTUM PESHTITONIANUM LEIDENSE (ed.), *Vetus Testamentum Syriace iuxta simplicem syrorum versionem ex auctoritate societatis ad studia librorum Veteris Testamenti provehenda* (Leiden 1972) part IV, fasc. 6, i-x, 1-12, esp. 9-10. A translation of the five

to be classified among those which belong with certainty to this literary genre. In addition to the images employed and the style of writing, which is close to various psalms in the biblical canon, what is expressed in v. 11b can help with the understanding and, so, the translation of Luke 11,4b, the final petition of the *Our Father*. Within the composition, the verse in question, together with the three following ones, forms a small section in which the worshipper addresses his petition directly to YHWH whose immediate intervention he is seeking ⁸:

- 11 (10) [15-16]⁹ *Remember me, do not forget me,
see to it that I do not enter into situations too difficult for me.*
12 (11) [17-18] *Remove from me the sin of my youth,
may my transgressions not be remembered against me
(cf. Ps 25,7a).*

Syriac apocryphal psalms, including Psalm 155, is found already in M. NOTH, "Die Fünf syrisch überlieferten apokryphen Psalmen", *ZAW* 48 (1930) 1-23. For a list of the Syriac mss. available, see PESHİTTA INSTITUTE (ed.), *List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts* (Leiden 1961) 113. For a study of the various Syriac mss. and the minute differences between these and the Hebrew text, see H.F. VAN ROOY, "Psalm 155: One, Two or Three Texts?", *RdQ* 16 (1993) 109-122.

⁸ The Hebrew text that I am following is found in J.A. SANDERS (ed.), *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11* (DJD 4; Oxford 1965) 45, 70-76. However, there is an almost identical version in J.A. SANDERS, "Two Non-canonical Psalms in 11QPs^a", *ZAW* 76 (1964) 57-75, esp. 67-75. For the text and some critical notes, I refer also to the important work of U. DAHMEN, *Psalmen- und Psalter-rezeption im Frühjudentum*. Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Struktur und Pragmatik der Psalmenrolle 11QPs^a aus Qumran (STDJ 49; Leiden – Boston, MA 2003) 94, 248. See also J.H. CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls*. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translation. Volume 4A: Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers (The Princeton Theological Seminary — Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen – Louisville, KY 1997) 178-185; J.A. SANDERS, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY 1967).

The ms. can very probably be dated to the first half of the first century B.C. With its significant number of terms and expressions belonging to a late period of biblical Hebrew, it seems possible, with cautious approximation, to put the text back to the late Persian period if not to the beginnings of the Hellenistic era. For this, see A. HURVITZ, "Observations on the Language of the Third Apocryphal Psalm from Qumran", *RdQ* 5 (1965) 225-232, and R. POLZIN, "Notes on the Dating of the non-Masoretic Psalms of 11QPs^a", *HThR* 60 (1967) 468-476. For other studies on the text, see M. DELCOR, "Cinq nouveaux psaumes esséniens", *RdQ* 1 (1958) 85-102; M. PHILONENKO, "L'origine essénienne des cinq psaumes syriaques de David", *Sem* 9 (1959) 35-48; M. DELCOR, "Zum Psalter von Qumran", *BZ N.F.* 10 (1966) 15-29; J. STRUGNELL, "Notes on the Text and Transmission of the Apocryphal Psalms 151, 154 (= Syr. II) and 155 (= Syr. III)", *HThR* 59 (1966) 257-281; J.A. SANDERS, "The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) Reconsidered", *On Language, Culture, and Religion*. In Honor of Eugene A. Nida (eds. M. BLACK – W.A. SMALLEY) (Approaches to Semiotics 56; Paris 1974); G.H. WILSON, "The Qumran Psalms Scroll Reconsidered. Analysis of the Debate", *CBQ* 47 (1985) 624-642; E.M. SCHULLER, *Non-canonical Psalms from Qumran*. A Pseudepigraphic Collection (HSS 28; Atlanta, GA 1986); B.Z. WACHOLDER, "David's Eschatological Psalter. 11QPs^a", *HUCA* 59 (1988) 23-72.

⁹ The numbers outside brackets refer to the numeration of the stichs; those between round brackets refer to the lines of the text in the Hebrew; those between square brackets refer to the lines of the Syriac text.

- 13 (12a) [19-20] *Purify me, YHWH, from the evil plague,
let it not return to approach me again.*
- 14 (12b-13a) [21-22] *Dry up its roots in me,
let its leaves not vegetate within me.*

If verses 12a (חטא) and 12b (פשע) refer explicitly to the reality of “sin” and “transgression” and so to the ethical and moral implications of the existential situation of the worshipper, it is especially in vv. 13-14 that the emphasis shifts rather explicitly to the situation of sickness. It is particularly the use of the term מנוגע, *mānuggāʿ*, in v. 13a (especially as attested in *plene scriptum*: מנוגע) which points us towards this interpretation. The term, derived from the root נגע, “touch”, “strike”, “wound”, is considered in Mishnaic Hebrew as a *piʿel* past participle¹⁰. Its employment in the whole of the Qumranic corpus is always associated with discussions about illness and legal impurity, especially with defects which, pathologically speaking, affect the whole of an individual¹¹. It is often associated with various skin diseases.

In the Qumranic literature, fifteen occurrences of the term are attested in *plene scriptum* and two in *defective*, including in this figure the reconstructions of lacunae. The document which employs it the most (5×) is the *Rule of the Congregation*¹². Another six occurrences also belong to the text of the same *Rule* and are found in several copies within other fragments¹³. In addition to these texts, a further two occurrences of the term are found in the *War Scroll*¹⁴, and another two occurrences appear in the so-called *Temple Scroll*¹⁵. The final occurrence of מנוגע,

¹⁰ The *piʿel* form נִגַּע, *niggēʿ*, proves to be the denominative verb of נגע, *negāʿ*, “plague”, often understood with reference to a person’s skin disease and, therefore, to wounds. In biblical Hebrew, the corresponding form of the Mishnaic מנוגע would be נגוע, *nāgūʿ*, in the *qal passive*, attested only in Ps 73,14 and Isa 53,4. Otherwise, the substantive נגע is attested both in Mishnaic Hebrew and also in biblical literature (78×, of which 61× in Leviticus alone).

¹¹ Among the pathologies and disabilities with which the term מנוגע is associated in the Qumranic literature are paralysis of the upper and lower limbs, lameness, blindness, deafness and dumbness.

¹² 1QSa, col. ii, ll. 3.4.5.6.10 (see D. BARTHÉLEMY – J.T. MILIK [eds.], *Qumran Cave I* [DJD 1; Oxford 1956] 110, 116-117).

¹³ 4Q249g [4Qpap cryptA Serekh ha-ʿEdah^a], frags. 3-7,1.2.3.4.10, and 4Q249h [4Qpap cryptA Serekh ha-ʿEdah^b], frags. 1-2,5 (see S.J. PFANN [ed.], *Qumran Cave 4. Cryptic Texts* [DJD 36; Oxford 2000] 567-568, 571).

¹⁴ 1QM 7,4 (see Y. YADIN [ed.], *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* [Oxford 1962] 290-291); and 4Q491 (see M. BAILLET [ed.], *Qumrân Grotte 4. III: 4Q482-520* [DJD 7; Oxford 1982] 13-15).

¹⁵ 11Q19 [11QTemple^a], col. xlv, l. 18 (see Y. YADIN [ed.], *The Temple Scroll. II: Text and Commentary* [Jerusalem 1983] 380-381), and the parallel text found in 11Q20 [11QTemple^b], col. xii, frags. 21 i, 22, 23, 24, v. 10 (see F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ – E.J.C. TIGCHELAAR –

in *defective scriptum*, precisely as in Ps 155,13a, is found in a “ritual of purification”¹⁶.

In all these contexts, the expression in question is always associated with conditions that affect the health of the individual and, therefore, his legal purity. Considering the closely analogous contexts in which this term appears, it is highly unlikely that in Ps 155,11-14 it indicates an evil referring to or deriving from improper ethical or moral behaviour. In Ps 155,13a it most probably refers to the presence of a pathology in the worshipper’s physical body, although of an origin and nature not further specified¹⁷. In this way, the significant metaphor in v. 14, far from expressing the rooting of an evil of a moral nature in the person’s heart¹⁸, is found to associate, in a way that is very poetic and effective, the spreading of the *physical evil* with the blooming and flourishing of forms of life in the vegetable world and, conversely, its cure with the drying up of these forms of life to their total desiccation.

II. PS 155,11B AS POSSIBLE LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND TO MATT 6,13A AND LUKE 11,4B

In 11QPs^a 155,11 (col. xxiv, l. 10 [Syr III, 15-16]), the worshipper, in his state of sickness and the impurity contracted from it, prays to YHWH to remember him, not to forget him: “וְלֹא תִבְיֹאנִי” into situations too difficult for me”. In this hemistich, we find a negation (לֹא) followed by the verb בּוֹא, a *hiph’il yiqtol* in the 2nd pers. masc. sing. (“see to it that I enter”) with 1st pers. sing. suffix.

The construction of this text recalls quite closely — except, obviously, for the change of language — what is expressed in Matt 6,13a and Luke 11,4b: καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, the final petition

A.S. VAN DER WOUDE [eds.], *Qumran Cave 11. II*: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31 [DJD 23; Oxford 1998] 390-393).

¹⁶ 4Q512, 34, col. v, l. 17 (see BAILLET [ed.], *Qumrân Grotte 4* [n. 14], 265).

¹⁷ If the Syriac texts seem to point more directly to an individual’s specific skin complaint, the Hebrew refers more generically to a less well specified “plague”. In fact, in Syriac ms. 12t4, in the body of the text, the verse in question offers the reading *gbr*’, “man”; it is only in the margin that a scribe has corrected the careless metathesis into *grb*’, a skin disease that was actually associated at one time, incorrectly, with leprosy.

¹⁸ *Contra* SANDERS, *Psalms Scroll* [n. 8], 111, n. 40, who refers the said metaphor “to what sin can do inside a man”, claiming, wrongly in my opinion, that it is inspired by Ezek 17,7-9. For the same position, see SANDERS, *Qumrân Cave 11* [n. 8], 73. See also CHARLESWORTH, *Non-Masoretic Psalms* [n. 8], 179, who offers a more nuanced interpretation.

of the *Our Father* ¹⁹. Here too, in fact, the negation (μή) precedes the verb εἰσφέρω (in this case, an aorist subjunctive active in the 2nd pers. sing.), meaning “bring us within” or, also, “make us to enter”. Both in Matt 6,13a and in Luke 11,4b, the Hebrew retroversion of the *Our Father* edited by Franz Delitzsch, which appeared in the *Hebrew New Testament*, published by the British and Foreign Bible Society (1st ed. in 1877), reconstructs the expression with the negation followed by the same verb as that present in 11QPs^a 155,11: ואל-תביאנו לידי נסיון (therefore, once again, a negation followed by a verb in the causative *hiph’il* form). The same conjecture is also found in the *Hebrew New Testament* of Isaac E. Salkinson and Christian D. Ginsburg, published by the Trinitarian Bible Society (1st ed. in 1886) — but with מסה לידי instead of נסיון לידי for “into the test” — as well as in the *Modern Hebrew New Testament*, published by the *Bible Society in Israel* (1st ed. in 1977) ²⁰.

¹⁹ All the mss. of both Gospels are unanimous in recording this reading without offering any other kind of variant. The same text is found also in the *Didache* 8,2 (SC 248,174) and is echoed almost identically in Polycarp, *Epistle to the Philippians* 7,2 (SC 10,214): μή εἰσενεγκεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν. Moreover, by way of reinforcement, the manuscript tradition of the Vulgate in Matt 6,13a offers the text, *et ne inducas nos in temptationem*, while, in Luke 11,4b, there appears a slightly different form: *et ne nos inducas in temptationem*, which is also followed by the Catholic Latin liturgy. The only exceptions are those of Codices D (Dublinensis [Armachanus], eighth-ninth century) and R (Rushworthianus, ninth century), which offer the reading: *et ne patiaris nos induci in temptationem* (cf. the text of Cyprianus Carthaginensis mentioned in n. 25). For the textual tradition of the Vetus Latina, see n. 25.

²⁰ In Aramaic, on the other hand, according to the retroversion of Joachim Jeremias, the rendering would be: ולא תעלינן בנסיון (possibly also: ולא תתיננא; see his *Das Vater-Unser im Lichte der neueren Forschung* (Stuttgart 1962) 15. In any case, both forms (עלל and אתנא) are causative. However, a still better Aramaic retroversion is that proposed by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, which pays greater attention to the forms of middle Aramaic — namely, that in fashion in the time of Jesus — in contrast with that of Jeremias, which is more in debt to late Aramaic (or Syriac), and, for this reason, more anachronistic. Fitzmyer, then, reconstructs thus: ואל תעלננא לנסיון, *w^eal ta’ēlinnānā’ l’nisyōn*, again with the root עלל in the causative form (J.A. FITZMYER, “And Lead Us Not into Temptation”, *Bib* 84 [2003] 259-273, esp. 269). For other considerations, see also J. LUZARRAGA, *El Padrenuestro desde el Arameo* (AnBib 171; Roma 2008). For other authors, but with unacceptable positions, especially concerning Aramaic reconstructions of the text in question, see S.E. PORTER, “Matthew 6:13 and Luke 11:4: ‘Lead Us Not Into Temptation’”, *ET* 101 (1989-90) 359-362; R.-J. TOURNAY, “Que signifie la sixième demande du Notre-Père”, *RTL* 26 (1995) 299-306; IDEM, “Ne nous laisse pas entrer en tentation”, *NRTh* 120 (1998) 440-443.

In addition to the reconstructions just presented, it is important to recall that the Syriac version of the Peshitta in Matt 6,13a and Luke 11,4b, both in the negation and the choice of verb that follows, offers a text identical to that found in 11QPs^a 155,11 (*wēlā’ ta’lan* [from ‘*ll*, a *haph’el* imperfect in the 2nd pers. masc. sing + 1st pers. com. pl. suffix: “cause to enter”]). The *Old Syriac* of Matthew reads instead: *wēlā’ ’aytēyan*, “do not cause us to come”, having recourse, therefore, to the root ‘*t*’.

In any case, it is well known that, in the LXX, the verb εἰσφέρω translates the majority of Hebrew causative forms (*hiph’il*) of the verb בוא. Moreover, this verb also occurs as

1. *A Question of Translation*

When, as here, we are faced with a verb in causative form (*hiph'il*) preceded by a negation, it is legitimate to ask whether this negation has its effect on the *cause* (*do not cause that ...*) or the *effect* (*cause that ... not*) conveyed by the verb in question. As is clear, the two renderings are quite different. If we raise this question about the causative verb in 11QPs^a 155,11 — as in Matt 6,13a and Luke 11,4b, according to the Peshitta and the Hebrew and contemporary Aramaic retroversions — in the first case one would be asking YHWH (or the Father who is in heaven) *not to cause* the worshipper to enter into situations too difficult for him; that is, not provoking him, not being responsible for them (“*do not cause that he enters*”). In the second case, by contrast, God is being asked to work actively to preserve and protect the worshipper so that *he does not enter* into situations too difficult for him (“*cause that he does not enter*”). Certainly, it is not always easy to distinguish between the two cases. Often in the various contexts in which these kinds of causatives appear preceded by a negation, they are confused, assuming ambiguous values to such an extent that it often becomes very difficult if not impossible to settle the question. However, in some circumstances, the distinction is important and, for the purposes of the correct interpretation of the texts, it becomes necessary to know how to recognise it. In fact, in some cases the negation which precedes a verb in the causative form is found quite clearly to indicate the positive act of a cause producing a negative effect: *to cause* (in such a way) *that ... not ...*, and not the opposite: *not causing* (in such a way) *that ...* ²¹.

For example, Lev 2,13 does not say to the one who wishes to present an offering to YHWH, “*you shall not cause* the salt of the covenant of your God to be lacking on your offering”, but, on the contrary, “*you shall cause* that the salt of the covenant of your God *not* be lacking (ולא תשבית) on your offering”. In Deut 28,51, the nation hostile to Israel is not the one who “*does not cause* that there remain for you grain, wine and oil”, but, rather, the one who “*causes* that [those provisions] *do not* remain (לא-ישאיר)

the translation of the Aramaic עלל (in the *haph'el*) in Theodotion's version of Dan 6,19 (לא הנועל: οὐκ ἐλήνεγκαν).

²¹ It is true that, in the Semitic languages, the causative sense can be expressed by a single word, simply by modifying the form of the vowels of the consonantal root in question, in contrast with what happens in the Indo-European languages in which it is necessary to employ a circumlocution, as we have seen. However, even taking into consideration the Semitic syntactic-grammatical system, it remains equally necessary to ask, as we are doing, if, within a statement in which the verb in the causative is modified by a negation, the latter has an effect on the cause (*do not cause that ...*), or on the effect (*cause that ... not ...*) indicated by the verb.

for you". The text in Josh 10,28.30.37.39.40 does not report that Joshua, in the conquered cities, "*did not cause* (so that) there remained a survivor", but that "*he caused* (that) there *did not remain* (לא השאיר) even a survivor". In 2 Sam 3,8, Abner reproaches Ish-bosheth not by declaring that "*I have not caused* (in such a way) that you have found yourself in the hands of David", but "*I have caused* (in such a way) that you have *not* found yourself (ולא המציתך) in the hands of David". In Ruth 4,14, speaking to Naomi, the women bless God not because "*he has not caused* (in such a way) that today you lack a deliverer" but, on the contrary, because "*he has caused* (in such a way) that today you do *not* lack (לא להשביט)" such a man²².

I maintain that 11QPs^a 155,11 is another of these cases. There is an insistent prayer to YHWH to make himself present to the worshipper by recourse to a double request — first in an affirmative form, then in a negative form, but always unambiguous in content: "Remember me / do not forget me". Then, as a sign of tangible assistance and kindness, the prayer continues by asking God to act in such a way that the worshipper does not find himself in unendurable difficulties: "*see to it* (in such a way) that I do *not* enter into situations too difficult for me". In other words, with a permissive nuance, the worshipper is asking God to act *positively* in his favour, preventing him from coming across evils too great for him, and not so much to cease sending hardships that may harm him ("*do not cause me* to come into situations too difficult for me"). The distinction is subtle, but it is fundamental for the correct interpretation of this stich. What is at stake, in fact, is the very image of God: that of a God who protects the supplicant from the evils which may happen to him, against that of a God who causes evils which the supplicant asks him not to send²³.

²² For brevity, I refer to the work of J. CARMIGNAC ("Fais que nous n'entrions pas dans la tentation", *RB* 72 [1965] 218-226; cf. also IDEM, *Recherches sur le "Notre Père"* [Paris 1969]), who offers an analysis of thirty or so examples taken from the Hebrew Bible and the Qumran literature in which the negation preceding a verb in the causative highlights the positive act in a cause producing a negative effect: *see to it* (in such a way) that ... *not*.

²³ Moreover, the *permissive* nuance ("see to it that not ...", "permit that not ...") is one of the senses borne by the causative *hiph'il*: see B.K. WALTKE – M.P. O'CONNOR, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN 1990) 445 (§ 27.5 b.4). A proof of this nuance is also given by the unambiguous way in which the LXX translates the *hiph'il* תביא, from בוא, in Job 14,3: "You hold your eyes open on such a being and *make* him *come* (תביא = ἐποιήσας εἰσελθεῖν) into judgment against you". For this, see E. JENNI, "Kausativ und Funktionsverbgefüge. Sprachliche Bemerkungen zur Bitte: 'Führe uns nicht in Versuchung'", *ThZ* 48 (1992) 77-88 = IDEM, *Studien zur Sprachwelt des Alten Testaments I* (eds. B. HUWYLER – K. SEYBOLD) (Stuttgart 1997) 162-173. For a study chiefly devoted to an analysis of the ways in which the LXX rendered the Hebrew *hiph'il* into Greek, see E. TOV, "The Representation of the Causative Aspects of the *Hiph'il* in the LXX. A Study in Translation Technique", *Bib* 63 (1982) 417-424.

In the Talmudic literature, composed more than four centuries after the Synoptic Gospels, there is an interesting parallel which can be recognised in a prayer recorded in the tractate *B^erākhôt* 60b of the *seder Z^erā'îm* in the Babylonian Talmud: “See to it, *Hashem*, my God, that I do not become accustomed to transgression, that I do not come into (ואל תביאני) error, into sin, into the test (נסיון), into offence”. We find here the same construction as 11QPs^a 155,11, which is reflected in the Hebrew (ולא תביאני) and Aramaic (ואל תעלונא לנסיון) retroversions of the *Our Father*: “see to it that I do not come [...] into the test”. As for the other passages where there is a causative verb (precisely בוא, in this case), preceded by a negation, it becomes legitimate to ask if the said negation is affecting the *cause* (*do not cause that ...*) or the *effect* (*see to it that ... not ...*) carried by the verb in question. Now, already on the level of meaning, I believe that it would be inappropriate to see here an emphasis on the cause. In that case, God would be perceived as the *sender* of all those evils from which the worshipper is seeking to be spared (“Do not accustom me to transgression, do not cause me to come into, enter into sin, into offence”). Putting it another way, the worshipper is not praying to God not to drag him into sin. On the contrary, he is asking God to keep him far from what separates him from God. In other words, this passage of the Talmudic literature also seems to point in the same permissive sense as that conjectured for 11QPs^a 155,11 ²⁴.

2. Evidence from Patristic Interpretations in the II-V Centuries

Returning to the final petition of the *Our Father* in the identical Matthean and Lukan redactions, it is useful to consider, in the light of the first Christian interpretations and starting from Tertullian (c. 155-230), *De oratione* 8,1,4 (CCSL 1,262), how it was explained by drawing attention explicitly to a *permissive* nuance in the worshipper's request to God: *Nos patiaris induci, ab eo utique qui temptat*, “do not allow us to be led (into

²⁴ Again in another passage of Talmudic literature (tractate *Sanhedrîn* 107 a1 of the *seder N^ezîqîn* of the Babylonian Talmud), it is recorded: “An individual (אדם) should not ever cause himself (עצמו) to enter (אל יביא) into circumstances in which he could be put to the test (נסיון)”. With the same construction of the verb בוא in the causative, preceded by a negation, we again emphasise the same nuance which we have highlighted up to now: it is the person who puts himself in the state of entering into the test, not God who wishes to cause him to enter it (so that he would be found praying to God to desist from this intention).

Again, one could quote the tractate *Berakhot* 56b of the Babylonian Talmud which states: “You have died in glory and you have not entered (ולא אתית) into temptation (נסיון)” (cf. Matt 26,41; Luke 22,40.46). We have here the same feature in Aramaic, though without any expression of the aspect of causality.

the test) by the one who tempts in every way”²⁵. Also Ambrose of Milan (c. 337-397), in *De Sacramentis* 5,4,29; 6,5,24 (CSEL 73,71.83), stresses clearly this permissive nuance in the wake of Tertullian and Cyprian of Carthage (cf. n. 25): *Et ne patiaris induci nos in temptationem* — adding, on the basis of 1 Cor 10,13 — *quam ferre non possumus*, “which we cannot bear”²⁶. It is very interesting, then, that he adds immediately afterwards: *Non dicit: ‘Non inducas in temptationem’*, “he does not say: ‘Do not lead (us) into the test’”, underlining, in this way, a clear difference from the Vulgate rendering.

Augustine (354-430) makes the same point in *De sermone Domini in monte* 2,9,30 (CCSL 35,119):

Sexta petitio est: ‘Et ne nos inferas in temptationem’. Nonnulli codices habent ‘inducas’, quod tantundem valere arbitror; nam ex uno Graeco quod dictum est εἰσενέγκης utrumque translatum est. Multi autem in precando ita dicunt: ‘Ne nos patiaris induci in temptationem’, exponentes videlicet, quomodo dictum sit ‘inducas’. Non enim per se ipsum inducit Deus, sed induci patitur eum quem suo auxilio deseruerit ordine occultissimo ac meritis. Causis etiam saepe manifestis dignum iudicat ille quem deserat et in temptationem induci sinat. Aliud est autem induci in temptationem aliud tentari.

²⁵ See also Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 4,26,5 (CCSL 1,615): *Quis non sinet nos deduci in temptationem?*, “who is he who will not permit us to be led into the test?”. The same permissive nuance is found again in Tertullian, *De fuga in persecutione* 2,5 (CCSL 2,1138): “*Sed erue nos a maligno*”, *id est: ne nos induxeris in temptationem permittendo nos maligno*, “but deliver us from the evil one”, that is: do not lead us into the test by handing us over to the evil one”. See also, similarly, Cyprian (210-258), *De Dominica oratione* 7,100; 25,471 (CCSL 3 A,93.106): *Ne patiaris nos induci in temptationem*, “do not permit us to be led into the test”. In a similar way (*Ne nos induci patiaris in temptationem*), see also Arnobius junior († 455), *Conflictus de Deo trino et uno* 2,30 (PL 53,315 A), and S.A. MORCELLI, *Annales Ecclesiae africanae*, Annus 252,3 (PL 3,1500 A). Augustine (354-430) also knows this last form: *Sermo* 352,2,7 (PL 39,1558).

We should note that, in the case of two mss., the *Vetus Latina* also employs the same permissive nuance as in the patristic examples chosen so far. Ms. *k* (Afra – Codex Bobiensis, fourth-fifth century) for Matt 6,13a records: *Et ne passus fueris induci nos in temptationem*, while ms. *c* (Itala – Codex Colbertinus, twelfth-thirteenth century), again for Matt 6,13a, offers: *Et ne passus nos fueris induci in temptationem*. According to the collation of the mss. edited by P. SABATIER, *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae, seu Vetus italica*, 1751, *ad loc.*, the text for Matt 6,13a in ms. *g*² (codex Sangermanensis, eighth century) and ms. *gat* (Gatianus, eighth-ninth century) reads: *Et ne patiaris nos induci in temptationem* (cf. *supra*).

²⁶ Again alluding to 1 Cor 10,13 are Hilary of Poitiers (c. 310-368), *Tractatus in Psalmum* 118,8,15,11-12 (CCSL 61 A, 16-17): *Non derelinquas nos in temptatione, quam sufferre non possumus*, “do not leave us in the test which we cannot bear”; Jerome (347-419/420), *In Ezechielem* 14,48,16,1734 (CCSL 75,735): *Ne inducas nos in temptationem, quam ferre non possumus*, “do not lead us into the test which we cannot bear”. In this connection, we must recall again Letter III of Paschasius (fifth century), Bishop of Lilybaeum (Marsala), to Pope Leo the Great (PL 54,610): *Deus noster [...] neque amplius patitur tentari nos supra id quod ferre possumus*, “Our God [...] does not permit us to be tempted more than we can bear”.

Nam sine tentatione probatus esse nullus potest sive sibi ipse, sicut scriptum est: 'Qui non est tentatus, qualia scit?', sive alii, sicut Apostolus dicit: 'Et tentationem vestram in carne mea non sprevisis' ²⁷.

It is interesting how, in this passage, Augustine provides proof of his knowledge of the form of the last petition of the *Our Father* with the use of the verb *induco*, typical of the Vulgate ²⁸, of the verb *infero* ²⁹, constructed in

²⁷ "The sixth request is: 'And do not make us enter into the test'. Some mss. have 'lead', which I hold has the same meaning; in fact, both have been translated from the single Greek term — εἰσενέγκης. Many then in praying say: 'Do not permit that we are led into the test', showing, that is, in what sense 'lead' is being used. In fact, God does not lead us himself but permits that the one is led there who, through a most hidden ordinance and deservedly, will have been deprived of his help. Often too, for manifest reasons, he judges someone worthy to the point of depriving him of his help and permitting him to be led into the test. In fact, it is one thing to be led into temptation and another to be tempted. In fact, without temptation, no one is fit for the test, whether in himself, as it says in Scripture: 'The one who has not been tempted, what does he know?' (Sir 34,9.11 Vulg.), or through another, as the Apostle says: 'And you did not scorn what was for you a temptation in the flesh' (Gal 4,14)".

Augustine makes another important distinction in *Sermo* 57,9 (CCSL 41 Aa,185-186), precisely in the context of the final petition of the *Our Father*: *Est enim alia temptatio, quae appellatur probatio. De ipsa temptatione scriptum est: 'Temptat vos Dominus Deus vester, ut sciat si diligitis eum', "there is another temptatio which is called probatio. Of this temptatio it is written: 'The Lord your God puts you to the test to know if you love him' (Deut 13,3)"; cf. also *De sermone Domini in monte* 2,9,31 (CCSL 35,120).*

²⁸ In two other places also, Augustine shows an awareness of the form in the Vulgate: *De peccatorum meritis* 2,4,4 (CSEL 60,74), and *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum* 4,82 (CSEL 85,2,84); see also *Regula ad servos Dei* 8,2 [12] (PL 32,1384).

²⁹ In any case, in many other places in his vast output, Augustine continued to formulate the last petition of the *Our Father* in the form *Et ne nos inferas in temptationem*, leading to the view that this was precisely the form in which he prayed it and transmitted it; see *Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et charitate* 22,81; 30,115 (CCSL 46,95.111); *De peccatorum meritis* 2,2,2; 2,4,4 (CSEL 60,72.74); *De natura et gratia* 53,62; 58,68; 67,80 (CSEL 60,278-279.285.294); *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* 1,13,27,16-17 (CSEL 60,446); *De sermone Domini in monte* 2,9,30 (CCSL 35,119); *Sermones* 56,13,18 (CCSL 41 Aa,170); 57,9,9.10,10 (CCSL 41 Aa,185.187); 58,8,9,9,11 (CCSL 41 Aa,209.211); 59,5,8 (CCSL 41 Aa,226); 77A,3 (PLS 2,651); 152,2 (CCSL 41 Ba,34); 223E,1 (PLS 2,719); 256,1 (PL 38,1191); 304,2,2 (PL 38,1396); 348A,2 (CSEL 9,1,899); 348A augm. (Dolbeau 30,11.12) (NBAG 35.1,798.800); *Epistulae* 130,11,21 (CCSL 31 B,228); 145,8 (CSEL 44,273); 157,2,5 (CSEL 44,451-452); 176,2 (CSEL 44,665); 177,4,19 (CSEL 44,672.688); 178,3 (CSEL 44,690); 179,3 (CSEL 44,693); 186,12,41 (CSEL 57,80); *De bono viduitatis* 17,21 (CSEL 41,329); *De perfectione iustitiae hominis* 10,21; 19,40; 20,43; 21,44 (CSEL 42,21.42.46.48); *Contra Iulianum* 4,2,6; 5,4,15 (PL 44,739.793); *De continentia* 7,18 (CSEL 41,162); *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum* 1,67.90.93.104.105.106.108; 2,227; 4,89; 6,15 (CSEL 85,1,71.104.106.121.123.124.127.343; CSEL 85,2,93.340); *De dono perseverantiae* 5,9; 6,11; 17,46; 22,62; 23,63 (PL 45,999.1000.1021-1022.1031); *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus* 52,9; 53,8; 73,4 (CCSL 36,449.455.511); *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 89,4 (CCSL 39,1246); 105,36 (CCSL 40,1568); 118,13,3.15,2.26,2 (CCSL 40,1706.1712.1753).

On the other hand, Chromatius Aquileiensis (c. 345-407), *Tractatus in evangelium Matthaei* 14,7,1,3 (CCSL 9,433-434), although transmitting the expression in the form, *Et ne nos inducas in temptationem*, a little further on, without changing its sense, continues

the mold of the Greek, and of the construction *patiaris induci*, used, as we have seen, by Tertullian, Ambrose, Cyprian, Arnobius ³⁰, by the codices D and R of the Vulgate ³¹, and by the mss. *g*² and *gat* of the Vetus Latina ³².

Among the Greek authors of the first centuries, we have to mention Origen (185-254). In his *De oratione* 29,9,15-20 (GCS 2,385) ³³, he states that: “Therefore — as has been stated before — the whole of ‘the life of a human being on earth is a test (πειρατήριον)’ (cf. Job 7,1 [LXX]). Thus, we must pray to be freed from the test (ῥυθῆναι πειρατηρίου ³⁴); not in the sense of not being tempted — because it is impossible, especially for those who are ‘on earth’ — but in the sense of not being overpowered when tempted. I understand one who is overpowered when tempted as entering into the test (εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν πειρασμόν), being captured in its nets” (cf. also Origenes, *In Psalmum* 17,30 [PG 12,1236B]) ³⁵.

As is clear, the permissive nuance in our text, which has been shown to be not only possible but also probable in certain Hebrew texts in which a verb in the causative form (*hiph’il*) is preceded by a negation — as in the case of 11QPs^a 155,11b, very close to Matt 6,13a; Luke 11,4b — continues to receive strong consideration also from the first patristic interpretations of that evangelical expression ³⁶.

to explain its meaning with the expression: *Et ne nos inferas in temptationem*, “and do not make us enter into the test”. Sedulius (first half of the fifth century), *Paschale opus* 2,17 (CSEL 10,229) also knows the Vulgate form (*induco*). Moreover, a verb of movement towards a place linked to yielding to temptation, still in the context of the sixth petition of the *Our Father*, is found also in Sedulius, *Paschale carmen* 2,284 (CSEL 10,63): *Et ingreditur quia se temptatio ducet*, “and he enters wherever the temptation leads him”.

³⁰ For the use of the verb *pator* in the sixth petition of the *Our Father* in Augustine, see also *De dono perseverantiae* 6,12 (PL 45,1000); *Sermo* 352,2,7 (PL 39,1558).

³¹ See n. 19.

³² See n. 25.

³³ See also Origen, *Fragmenta e catenis in Matthaeum* 123 (GCS 41.1,64).

³⁴ Here, Origen makes use of the verb ῥύομαι, “free, deliver”, the same which is used in the conclusion of the *Our Father* according to Matt 6,16b: ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, “but free/deliver us from evil”, or even: “... from the Evil One”.

³⁵ According to K. ALAND, *Synopsis quattuor Evangeliorum*. Locis parallelis evangeliorum apochryphorum et patrum adhibitis (Stuttgart 1963; ¹⁰1978) 87, 268, the permissive nuance could have also preceded Tertullian, namely, in the time of Marcion of Sinope (c. 85-160): (καὶ) ἄφες μὴ ἡμᾶς εἰσενεχθῆναι εἰς πειρασμόν, “(and) do not permit that we enter [from εἰσφέρω, as in Matt 6,13b; Luke 11,4a] into the test”. Shortly before this, still in the Greek-speaking sphere, a fragment of Dionysius Alexandrinus († 264) concerning a comment on Luke 22,46 also preserves the permissive nuance (PG 10,1601 B): καὶ δὴ καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, τουτέστι, μὴ ἐάσης ἡμᾶς ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς πειρασμόν, “do not make us enter [again, from εἰσφέρω] into the test, that is, do not permit that we fall into the test”. See also, with the use of the verb ἐπέρχομαι, Agathangelus (fifth century), *Historia armeniorum* 73,15: ὁ ἐάσας ἐπελθεῖν ἡμῖν τὸν πειρασμόν τοῦτον (P. DE LAGARDE [ed.], *Agathangelus und die Akten Gregors von Armenien* [AGWG 35; Göttingen 1887] 38).

³⁶ See also nn. 19 and 25, and F.H. CHASE, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (TaS 1.3; Cambridge 1891) 60-70; A.J.B. HIGGINS, “Lead Us Not into Temptation”: Some Latin Variants”, *JThS* 46 (1945) 179-183.

III. RECONSIDERING THE MEANING OF MATT 6,13A; LUKE 11,4B

Bearing in mind the contribution of 11QPs^a 155,11 to the interpretation of the final petition of the *Our Father*, we may offer some concluding considerations. What, then, is the worshipper seeking at the end of his prayer to the Father who is in heaven? To answer this question, it is necessary to assess two levels of understanding of the text of Matt 6,13a and Luke 11,4b: the first (*a*) derived from paying attention to the Greek syntax; the second (*b*) obtained from the comparison with the Jewish background which we have examined earlier.

(*a*) It is very clearly established that, if we limit ourselves to a literal translation of the expression καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς (conjunction + negation + aorist subjunctive active of εἰσφέρω in the 2nd pers. sing. + personal pronoun in the acc. pl.), we must arrive at “and do not make us enter” or, even, “and do not let us enter”. Thus, if we limit our horizon to the Greek text of the prayer, the most desirable meaning which has to be made explicit in translation must be: *And do not make us enter into the test*; or, as a variation: *Do not let us enter into the test*³⁷. In this way, the worshipper is raising a prayer to the Father in

³⁷ The substantive πειρασμός is translated here not with “temptation” but rather with “test”. A study of the appropriate translation of this noun is outside the scope of this work. Here we are limited to only some basic considerations.

The substantive in question derives from the verb πειράζω (which, in its turn, comes from the substantive πείρα, “quest”, “experiment”), chiefly denoting the action of proving a specific quality of a thing or person. In this sense, it signifies primarily “proof”, “trial”, or even “test”. The common root of these words, passing through the proto-Greek **per-ia*, is **per-*, “cross”, “pass”, from which derive the verbs πείρω, “pierce”, and περάω, “pass through”. In the LXX, the verb πειράζω is almost always found translating the *pi’el* form of the Hebrew נסו, “put to the test”. The noun πειρασμός, on the other hand, usually translates the Hebrew נסו, “test”, similarly derived from נסו. In some cases, however, by widening the range of meanings, this term can end up more specifically as indicating also “temptation”, and so the enticement, the attraction to what is evil, namely, sin. The semantic spectrum of this term and of the verb from which it derives can include also the sense of “attempt” (as in Acts 9,26; 16,7; 24,6) and “demonstration” (see 2 Cor 13,5). Linked with the sense of “attempt”, we must add for the OT: Deut 4,34; Jdg 6,39; 2 Mac 2,23; 11,19; 13,18; Wis 19,5. Thus, if, for the one who undergoes it, “test” refers to a more generic sense of “difficult situation”, “great difficulty”, “occasion of possible error”, from a generally existential point of view, whether caused or provoked by people, by God, or by his Adversary, in its common meaning, the term “temptation” basically stresses the moral sphere, pointing the interpretation to a nuance primarily focused on sin, bound up essentially with suggestions coming from evil and the seductions provoked by it with the aim of causing the believer to swerve from his faith in God (cf. Matt 26,41; Mark 14,38; Luke 22,40,46; 1 Cor 7,5; Gal 6,1; 1 Tim 6,9; 1 Thess 3,5; Jas 1,12[.13]).

In the whole of the OT, it is difficult to find occasions in which πειράζω and πειρασμός are employed clearly with the meaning of “temptation” (Wis 2,24?). In any case, the appellative, ὁ πειράζων, “the tempter”, appears in the whole of the Greek Bible only in Matt 4,3 and 1 Thess 3,5, referring in both cases to the personification of evil. It is also

heaven, asking him not to hand us over to difficult and painful situations of testing into which the Tempter, if not the Father himself, propels us through God's inscrutable plan of redemption (cf. Rom 9,18; cf. also Rom 1,24.26.28).

(b) However, it has been demonstrated that the text of Matt 6,13a and Luke 11,4b is found to have a Jewish background particularly close to its meaning. The linguistic and cultural context underlying the Greek *koiné* of the Gospels was Aramaic, the spoken language of the time in the Eastern Mediterranean. Thus, behind the Greek expression in question there seems to be a Jewish one: *ואל־תביאנו לידי נסיון*, in Hebrew; *ואל תעלגנא לנסיון*, in Aramaic. Starting from the text of 11QPs^a 155,11b, we have examined the meaning of this construction in Hebrew and Aramaic, as well as the most appropriate way of translating it. From this standpoint, the Greek form of Matt 6,13a and Luke 11,4b could well be interpreted as an attempt to render the original Semitic causative in a permissive sense, obviously forcing it into Greek style and syntax. Thus, the translation would have to be slightly different from that just proposed — a negation which affects not so much the cause expressed by the verb as the effect. This may seem to be a small difference, but it makes a significant change in the theology of the text: *And see to it that we do not enter into the test*. In this case, the worshipper is asking the Father in heaven to keep him away from the possible difficult and painful situations towards which the adverse contingencies of life — engineered by the Adversary or even willed or permitted by God — and our own concupiscence (cf. Jas 1,13-14) can drive us³⁸. In this case, therefore, by contrast with the first translation, the worshipper is seen to be excluding from his petition the ambiguity of holding God as possibly responsible for his falling into the test, asking him to act in the opposite way. Here, the request is being made in a decisively

necessary to reiterate that in certain OT texts, considered very recent compositions — easily post-Exilic — as also in certain others of the NT, there are clear indications of the wish to separate God from the direct responsibility for evil (cf. 1 Chr 21,1 [\neq 2 Sam 24,1], Sir 15,11 – 12.20; 1 Cor 10,13; Jas 1,13-14). *God cannot tempt to evil, but can put to the test* to probe, if not also to stimulate, the faith of his creature, as also to reclaim it and correct it from its wicked conduct (typical, in this sense, Deut 8,5; Prov 3,11-12; 1 Cor 11,32; Heb 12,5-6; Rev 3,19; cf. Matt 4,1; Mark 1,12-13; Luke 4,1-2). For detailed treatment with an extensive bibliography, see G. BRAULIK, “Wenn Gott versucht. Zur »Theodizee der Erprobung« im Alten Testament”, *ZKTh* 141 (2019) 22-43; for the translation of *πειρασμός* with “test”, see especially M. PHILONENKO, *Le «Notre Père»*. De la Prière de Jésus à la prière des disciples (Bibliothèque des Histoires; Paris 2001) § ix.

³⁸ See also the article of M. MUNARI, “‘Fa’ che non cadiamo in tentazione’ (Mt 6,13a). Interpretazione e traduzione della sesta petizione del Padre Nostro”, *LA* 64 (2014) 165-182, although I do not share his conclusions on the translation of *πειρασμός* (“temptation”) in the context of Matt 6,13a.

unambiguous way, asking God to intervene effectively and resolutely in history to *preserve us* from entering into testing ³⁹.

IV. CONCLUSION

Having come to the end of this study, we are perhaps able to look at the last petition of the prayer which Jesus of Nazareth taught his disciples in a sharper light. As is well known, there is always a great difficulty in rendering into another language the cultural and literary context of the original, especially when the second language is descended from a different linguistic stock. My claim is that the possible Jewish background of the text examined here proves to be helpful in conjecturing a meaning beyond that expressed *ad litteram* by the Greek syntax alone.

The difficulties and the pain arising from tests in an individual's existence, wherever they originate, constitute a mystery that is closely interwoven with salvation and redemption. This was the destiny which the Son of Man was neither able nor willing to avoid. So it is for each one. In the form of prayer, the sixth petition of the *Our Father* is found to be a real witness to this mysterious fabric.

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SUMMARY

Psalms 155,11b (11QPs^a 155 [Syr. III]) — *see to it that I do not enter into* (לֹא תִּבְיֵאנִי *situations too difficult for me* — can be read in light of a Jewish matrix to the formulation of the final petition of the *Our Father* (Matt 6,13a; Luke 11,4b): καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν. The causative form in Hebrew and Aramaic, when it is preceded by a negation, such as is found in 11QPs^a 155,11b, seems to underlie the Greek text of the gospel passages in question. After reviewing the understanding of the gospel expression by various authors in the first five centuries of the Christian era, we propose two possible translations for the concluding segment of the *Our Father*: “And do not make us enter into the test” or, stressing a permissive nuance: “And see to it that we do not enter into the test”.

³⁹ Moreover, this idea of the causative meaning of Matt 6,13a; Luke 11,4b is also confirmed by the adversative clause which follows immediately in Matt 6,13b: ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, “but rather deliver us from (the) evil”. In this way, it is made absolutely clear here that it is impossible to associate God with the wish to lead his own creature into evil; rather it seems to be asking him explicitly to act in the opposite way.

2 TIM 1,7, COWARDICE, AND THE SPECTER OF BETRAYAL: THE INTERSECTION OF INTERTEXTUALITY AND PARONOMASIA

INTRODUCTION

The goal of this study is to explore in greater detail than previous treatments the opening admonition to Timothy in 2 Timothy 1, with a particular focus on 1,7 and its implications for the meaning of the admonition. I will show that 1,7 is a complex intertextual rewriting of Rom 8,15. The rewriting, in palimpsest fashion (*à la Genette*), leaves behind sufficient remnants of the precursor text to ensure a first-stage reading of the Spirit-text in Romans. But this overwriting of the precursor text also produces a paronymic effect and a second intertextual association with another precursor. The latter is a web of texts related to the tradition of Joshua succeeding Moses, which, when translated into Greek (LXX), contribute to the formation of a shadowy topos concerning the nature of cowardice. I will leave the navigation of the intertextual trails for a more suitable section below, after the contextual elements have fallen into place. Once the preparatory steps have been taken (the argument is cumulative), we will see exhortation (encouragement) and admonition (warning) in a tense relationship in which a renewed charge to service carries the memory of and anxiety about future consequences of unbelief and cowardice.

This study breaks into three main parts. Part I will examine the thematic contours of 2 Timothy, and especially the depiction of Timothy as Paul's successor. Part II will consider the argument of 1,3-14 itself. This will include several steps. The first step will explore the thematic role of noetic memory and intertextuality as a method of re-contexting textual memory in the present. In relation to intertextuality, I will introduce the work of A. Merz, and then demonstrate the strong evocation of Romans in the letter. Finally, Part III will examine the complex intertextuality and word-play of 2 Tim 1,7, and follow the reverberations to a source as yet unexplored — the "cowardice topos" — and a novel interpretation of what this meant for successors such as Joshua and Timothy, as yet unobserved.

I. THE THEME OF SUCCESSION IN 2 TIMOTHY AND THE MOSES-JOSHUA PARADIGM

One of the influential works among those taking a constructive critical approach to the Pastoral Epistles (PE) is that of Michael Wolter¹. He argues that the PE represent a fresh and original hermeneutical effort to enlarge the Pauline tradition and apply it to later changed circumstances². One part of his project involves demonstrating that 2 Timothy is a “testament” or “farewell speech” (see, e.g., Acts 20,17-35; *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; *Testament of Moses*). This is not without problems³. But by distinguishing the genre of 2 Timothy from that of 1 Timothy and Titus, he brings to the fore the story (fiction or not)⁴ that must be presupposed in order to make sense of 2 Timothy⁵. This becomes important because in its guise as a personal letter the meaning and motives of themes and parenesis must be reconstructed from a series of incomplete descriptions that combine metaphorical, theological, and traditional elements. In Wolter’s largely convincing reconstruction, this is a story of Timothy as Paul’s successor on the model of the Moses-Joshua succession⁶.

¹ M. WOLTER, *Die Pastoralbriefe als Paulustradition* (FRLANT 146; Göttingen 1988).

² Antecedent to Wolter are: P. TRUMMER, *Die Paulustradition der Pastoralbriefe* (BET 8; Frankfurt 1978); A. LINDEMANN, *Paulus in ältesten Christentum. Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion* (BHth 58; Tübingen 1979); H. VON LIPS, *Glaube – Gemeinde – Amt. Zum Verständnis der Ordination in den Pastoralbriefen* (FRLANT 122; Göttingen 1979).

³ WOLTER, *Paulustradition*, 222-241. Parts of 2 Timothy reflect features common to the Jewish and early Christian “testaments” (and “farewell addresses”; Acts 20,17-35; 2 Peter): (1) 2 Tim 4,6; (2) 3,1-5a.6-7; 4,3-4; (3) 4,7; (4) 2,2. He points out that 2 Timothy actually lacks most of the constant features of the testaments (because it is in the form of a personal letter). One problematic issue is the fact that “Paul”, after falling into this “testamentary” pattern (4,3-4), and in fact having issued the farewell statement (4,6), nonetheless instructs Timothy to come to him (4,9) in Rome, either short-circuiting this testamentary/farewell motif, it seems to me, or requiring a creative solution. Wolter interprets this travel instruction (196-197, and n. 2) as signaling, within the literary fiction, that Timothy’s commission extends beyond the death of Paul (in contrast to 1 Timothy and Titus). Cf. S.C. MARTIN, *Pauli Testamentum. 2 Timothy and the Last Words of Moses* (TGST 18; Rome 1997) 47. See the critique of L.T. JOHNSON, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy* (AB 35A; New York – London 2001) 320-324.

⁴ See WOLTER, *Paulustradition*, 214; also M. RIFFATERRE, *Fictional Truth* (Baltimore, MD 1990) 1-28. My minimal starting point is that if 2 Timothy is fictional, one must nevertheless enter and follow the story, acknowledge the characters, and so on, in order to make sense of the message. See further the comments in the closing section below.

⁵ From this distinction follow the specifically personal nature of 2 Timothy (e.g. the Proömium, 1,3-5), the absence of the spatio-temporal (intra-church) restrictions that define the coworkers’ tasks in 1 Timothy and Titus, and the shift to admonitions relating to succession (WOLTER, *Paulustradition*, 214).

⁶ WOLTER, *Paulustradition*, 218.

1. *The Moses-Joshua Paradigm*

Wolter's reconstruction builds on the following findings. First, in keeping with the distinctive genre of 2 Timothy is the expansion of Timothy's ministry in comparison with 1 Timothy and Titus: the latter depict the coworkers' assignments as distinctly community-oriented and limited accordingly (e.g., 1 Tim 4,12; Titus 2,15). But 2 Timothy imposes no such limits, depicting a ministry more universal in scope (4,2: κήρυξον τὸν λόγον; 4,5: ἔργον ποιήσον εὐαγγελιστοῦ) and defined by the unconditional call to suffer (4,5; 1,8; 2,3: κακοπάθησον). Second, the language of Timothy's commission incorporates components of the formulaic exhortation that Moses, in Deuteronomy 31, addressed first to the people and then to Joshua at his commissioning: Ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἴσχυε, μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ δειλία ("be strong and courageous, do not fear or be cowardly"). The exhortation to "be empowered" in 2,1 (ἐνδυναμοῦ ἐν τῇ χάριτι τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ), and other allusions to power (see below), connects with the first part of the formula (Deut 31,7-8; Josh 1,9; remembered in Philo, *Virt.* 69; *LibAnt* 20.1-5; *TestMoses* 10,15; see also David's charge to Solomon in 1 Kgs 2,2 [3 Kgdms 2,2 LXX]). The reference to δειλία ("cowardice") in 2 Tim 1,7 makes contact with the second half of the formula ⁷. Finally, for Wolter the decisive indication that 2 Timothy is in contact with the Moses-Joshua succession narrative is the reference in 1,6 to "the laying on of hands" as a means of communicating some necessary capability/authority to the successor (τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ; cf. Deut 34,9; Num 27,18[Moses' δόξα].20.23) ⁸.

For the sake of completeness, once the tilt toward the Moses-Joshua narrative has become visible, I would add three other lexical connections. The first is the use of φυλάσσω in 2 Tim 1,14 (Josh 1,7; 23,6; Deut 4,2; 30,10.16; 32,46) to describe the successor's observance/keeping of the authorized teaching (all that Moses/Paul had taught). Then, the occurrence of σύνεσις in 2,7 ⁹, at the end of the second reflection on Timothy's commission, sounds a theme also tied to the commission of Joshua (Josh 1,8; Deut 34,9) ¹⁰. Finally, in ἐγκαταλείπω we may have another link. In the

⁷ Again, see MARTIN, *Pauli Testamentum*. With the specific aim of demonstrating that 2 Timothy is a testament, he has also followed δειλία back to the Moses/Joshua scene (25-27) and come to many of the same conclusions as Wolter (whose work he includes in the bibliography but otherwise, curiously, does not discuss).

⁸ WOLTER, *Paulustradition*, 218-222. He rightly distinguishes 2 Tim 1,6 (where Paul personally lays hands on Timothy) from the imposition of hands described in 1 Tim 4,14 (also Acts 6,6; 13,3).

⁹ δώσει γάρ σοι ὁ κύριος σύνεσιν ἐν πᾶσιν.

¹⁰ Josh 1,8: ἵνα συνῆς ποιεῖν πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα, τότε εὐδοθήσῃ καὶ εὐδοῶσῃς τὰς ὁδοὺς σου καὶ τότε συνήσεις; Deut 34,9: Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυη ἐνεπλήσθη πνεύματος

Moses-Joshua narrative this term describes the fundamental sin of forsaking God and going after other gods (Deut 28,20; 31,16); in 2 Tim 4,10.16 it refers to those who have deserted Paul (4,16: ἀλλὰ πάντες με ἐγκατέλιπον), in response to which Paul declares, ὁ δὲ κύριός μοι παρέστη καὶ ἐνεδυνάμωσέν με (4,17), which is how the “I” of human experience renders God’s promise to Joshua (ἔσομαι καὶ μετὰ σοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω σε; Josh 1,5; Deut 31,6.8), a reiteration of the divine promise to all the people (cf. Deut 4,31). The antithesis set up by this single verb frames the commissioning of Joshua, as it also creates the tension of the Pauline experience of human abandonment and divine presence. As the implications of δειλία in 1,7 become clearer, expressions such as φυλάσσω and ἐγκαταλείπω create a harmony of echoes of the Moses-Joshua transition, presenting positive exhortation and models, on the one hand, and shadowy alternative consequences, on the other.

2. *The Successor as Mirror-Image of the Apostle*

The notion that Timothy is viewed as Paul’s successor is supported by the connection to the Moses/Joshua paradigm and is reinforced within 2 Timothy itself in a variety of ways that depict Timothy as “mirroring” Paul. To begin, as we will consider below, the four-fold occurrence of memory language in 1,3-6 is an opening rhetorical gambit in which Paul forges an emotional common ground with Timothy. The appeal reaches a climax in Paul’s memory of Timothy’s sincere faith (τῆς ἐν σοὶ ἀνυποκρίτου πίστεως, 1,5a), handed down from his grandmother and mother, in the phrase πέπεισμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν σοὶ (1,5c). We may debate whether πέπεισμαι here is an expression of unequivocal confidence in Timothy (cf. Rom 8,38)¹¹, an attempt to persuade by creating a mood of good will through flattery (*captatio benevolentiae*), or rather intends to persuade by masking uncertainty in optimism (cf. Rom 15,14)¹². In either case, its exact repetition in 1,12 has the effect of bracketing this opening exhortation, 1,3-14. The statement of conviction persuades by indirection (it is Paul who expresses conviction, πέπεισμαι, to persuade Timothy), and creates a transition from Paul to Timothy.

συνέσεως. Of particular importance is the interest in Joshua’s intellectual capabilities in later Jewish tradition: Philo, *Virt.* 55; 66 (Moses’ excellent pupil: ἀριστίνδην ὁ φοιτητὴς αὐτοῦ καὶ μιμητὴς τῶν ἀξιεράστων ἡθῶν); Josephus, *Ant* 4.165; *LibAnt* 20.2-3: Joshua clothes himself in Moses’ wisdom and knowledge, and as a result “his mind was kindled and his spirit stirred up”. The Latin is “*incensa est mens eius, et spiritus eius commotus est*”, imagery that parallels ἀναζωπυρεῖν in 2 Tim 1,6 (see also WOLTER, *Paulustradition*, 221).

¹¹ C. SPICQ, *Saint Paul*. Les Épîtres pastorales, 2 vols. (Paris 1969) 2.3.

¹² See JOHNSON, *Letters to Timothy*, 337.

- At the first (1,5c, the opening bracket), Paul expresses conviction that Timothy has authentic faith to persuade him (1,6) to “rekindle the charism of God”.
- At the last (1,12c, the closing bracket), Paul expresses conviction in Christ’s (or God’s) power to “guard/keep” what he, Paul, is hereby entrusting to Timothy (τὴν παραθήκην μου, genitive as subject; see below) to persuade Timothy both to “hold fast to” the Pauline model (1,13) and (likewise) “guard/keep” what Paul is entrusting to Timothy (τὴν καλὴν παραθήκην φύλαξον) through the (power of) the indwelling Holy Spirit ¹³.

Within these brackets mentioning πέπεισμαι in 1,5 and 1,12, several themes occur that bring Timothy and Paul into mirror-like alignment, adding persuasive force to the “succession” discourse. First, the themes of shame and suffering, employed in a basic AB – B₁A₁ pattern, lend shape and coherence to this passage:

A Timothy: **must not be ashamed** (μὴ οὖν ἐπαισχυνθῆς, 1,8a)

but

B **must suffer** for the gospel (συγκακοπάθησον τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, 1,8b)

according to God’s power (κατὰ δύναμιν θεοῦ, 1,8c)

B₁ Paul: appointed for the gospel **suffers** (καὶ ταῦτα πάσχω, 1,11)

but

A₁ **is not ashamed** (οὐκ ἐπαισχύνομαι, 1,12)

Second, the Spirit-theme, developed by the intertextual “reminder” of the Pauline Spirit-text of Romans 8 (see below), unites Paul and Timothy, as it also forms another set of brackets.

1,7: οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα δειλίας ἀλλὰ [πνεῦμα] δυνάμεως (cf. Rom 8,15)

1,14: τὴν καλὴν παραθήκην φύλαξον διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος ἐν ἡμῖν (cf. Rom 8,11)

Here the shift from the surrounding second-person singular references to Timothy (1,5-6: σοί, σοῦ, σοί, σέ, σοί; 1,8: ἐπαισχυνθῆς, συγκακοπάθησον) to first-person plural pronouns (1,7: ἡμῖν; 1,14: ἐν ἡμῖν) underscores the fact that Paul and Timothy share the same Spirit given by God. Equally, the power-theme visible within this frame in relation to Timothy (1,8c) and Paul (1,12c), and implied of both (ἡμῖν) in references to the Spirit (1,7,14), binds Paul and Timothy. Note also 2,1 (to Timothy:

¹³ See I.H. MARSHALL, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Pastoral Epistles* (ICC; Edinburgh 1999) 710-714.

ἐνδυναμοῦ ἐν τῇ χάριτι τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ) and 4,17 (of Paul: ὁ δὲ κύριός [...] ἐνεδυνάμωσέν με).

Third, in the παραθήκη-theme (1,12.14; cf. 1 Tim 6,20; related verb at 2 Tim 2,2; 1 Tim 1,18), Paul and Timothy's respective commissions resolve into a single or continuous image. The theme is developed from a legal procedure whereby some commodity, "deposit" (παραθήκη), was entrusted to another to be kept safe until its return is called for¹⁴. Its metaphorical use is not contested¹⁵, but its meaning and implications in this context remain controversial¹⁶. The bulk of scholarship, though varying in details, understands παραθήκη as a post-Pauline description of the Pauline tradition or gospel "in the large sense" (relying on 1 Tim 6,20): not precisely τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, but something more expansive such as ἡ παραγγελία (1 Tim 1,18; see 2 Tim 1,10-11.13; 2,2.8.11-13; 3,10; 4,2-5)¹⁷.

Within the space of three verses (1,12-14), the παραθήκη/φυλάσσω formula occurs twice, once in relation to Paul/Christ, and once in relation to Timothy/Holy Spirit. Its double use and the theme that Paul is entrusting the παραθήκη to Timothy suggest that the παραθήκη-commodity is the same in each case, and that the thought of Paul's own appointment to hold the παραθήκη (1,11) in trust is here overtaken by Timothy's. Following Wolter, in the disputed phrase, τὴν παραθήκην μου (1,12c), the genitive μου indicates the depositor, Paul ("Genitivus auctoris oder besser subjectivus"¹⁸). The παραθήκη in mind is generally "what Paul is entrusting to his successor" and specifically the Pauline gospel/tradition (variously, 1,13: ὑγιαίνοντων λόγων ὧν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἤκουσας; 2,2: ἃ ἤκουσας παρ' ἐμοῦ διὰ πολλῶν μαρτύρων; 2,8: τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου; 2,9: ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ; 3,14: οἷς ἔμαθες καὶ ἐπιστάθης; 4,3: ἡ ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία). The metaphor in 1,12 leaves implicit (or delays until 1,14)

¹⁴ See WOLTER, *Paulustradition*, 114-130; VON LIPS, *Glaube – Gemeinde – Amt*, 266-268; J. ROLOFF, *Apostolat – Verkündigung – Kirche*. Ursprung, Inhalt und Funktion des kirchlichen Apostelamtes nach Paulus, Lukas und den Pastoralbriefen (Gütersloh 1965) 246-247; K. WEGENAST, *Das Verständnis der Tradition bei Paulus und in den Deuteropaulinien* (WMANT 8; Neukirchen 1962) 144-150; SPICQ, *TLNT*, 3.24-27; L. OBERLINNER, *Die Pastoralbriefe, Zweite Folge*. Kommentar zum Zweiten Timotheusbrief (HTKNT Band XI/2; Freiburg 1995) 47; MARSHALL, *Pastoral Epistles*, 675-676.

¹⁵ It is already used figuratively in Herodotus 9.45. See Philo, *Her.* 104, for παρακαταθήκη in reference to divine gifts.

¹⁶ The various options and arguments are reviewed in MARSHALL, *Pastoral Epistles*, 675-676, 710-714.

¹⁷ See, e.g., M. DIBELIUS – H. CONZELMANN, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia, PA 1972) 105; N. BROX, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (RNT; Regensburg 1963) 234-236. JOHNSON, *Letters to Timothy*, 356-357, includes Pauline patterns of behavior appropriate to the apostolic task: boldness (as opposed to shame) and the readiness to suffer.

¹⁸ WOLTER, *Paulustradition*, 117, esp. n.14.

the identity of the “depositee”, for the oblique reference to Christ (ϝ) introduces rather the source of enablement in the guardian process, the divine “partner” in the process. This is then re-expressed in 1,14, where the “depositee” and guardian of “the good deposit” (τὴν καλὴν παραθήκην), Timothy, is made explicit, as is his source of enablement, the indwelling Spirit (διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος ἐν ἡμῖν). To tie these thoughts together, as Marshall concludes, “Paul’s statement provides a foundation for his injunction to Timothy: the God who has preserved the gospel during his (Paul’s) own ministry (1,12) will continue to do so (as it is entrusted by Paul to Timothy, 1,14) for the future”¹⁹. Thus, there is one παραθήκη event in view — the entrustment by Paul of the παραθήκη (which he had formerly received from Christ) to Timothy, his successor. Consequently, by way of contact with the Moses/Joshua paradigm, on the one hand, and this convergence of Paul/Timothy into a single image, on the other, Timothy is cast in the role of the apostle’s successor.

II. THE ACTIVATION OF MEMORY IN TEXT AND INTERTEXT: 2 TIM 1,3-14

We are now in a better position to consider the construction of the argument in 1,3-14. Following the Prescript (1,1-2), we are immediately drawn into a story that Paul recounts in order to persuade Timothy to action. Memories of his commissioning, the description of the task, and the specter of Paul’s impending death that hangs over the whole letter combine to depict Timothy’s calling in terms of succession. The themes of shame (1,8.12.16), suffering (1,8.12; 2,3.9-10.12; 3,10-12; 4,5), and Paul’s experience of abandonment (1,15; 4,10.16), in combination with the tone of the opening admonitions, suggest that the reader is to understand that underlying the overt message is the problem that the younger coworker may waver in his commitment out of fear, shame, or uncertainty and may be in danger of quitting the mission altogether.

1. *Memory and the Shape of the Present*

Memory is inextricably bound up with the perception of time. In one stream of contemporary scholarship, memory is divided into three modes²⁰, primary, secondary, and tertiary, that interact in the formation

¹⁹ MARSHALL, *Pastoral Epistles*, 711.

²⁰ See B. STIEGLER, *Technics and Time, 1. The Fault of Epimetheus* (trans. R. BEARDSWORTH – G. COLLINS) (Stanford, CA 1998); IDEM, *The Age of Disruption* (trans. D. ROSS) (Medford, MA – Cambridge, UK 2019).

and maintenance of human identity. The latter two modes refer respectively to personal or experienced memory and to social/cultural or inherited memory (tradition, worldviews). These two categories of the remembered past help to shape expectations of what lies ahead, the future. In principle, the future refers to that which is yet to occur, and so is empirically unknown. But it is given structure on the basis of experienced memory (the sun will rise and set as it has in the past) and inherited memory (the hope that the future will be shaped by the promises of God). Primary memory is the perception that constitutes what we call “the present”: the hermeneutical construction of present consciousness by understanding it in the context of personal and cultural memory of the past and the associated anticipation of the structure of the future. What is undertaken in the parenetic process of persuasion in 2 Timothy involves activating these different modes of memory to provoke a reorganization of the present mind-set by placing it in the context of the secondary and tertiary memories and the futuristic hope related to the “now”.

In the opening section of 2 Timothy, the occurrence of four memory terms (paronomasia) activates each of these three modes of memory. First, in 1,3-5, using three of the four terms, the author works with secondary (experienced) memory: unceasing memory/mention of Timothy in prayer (ὥς ἀδιάλειπτον ἔχω τὴν περὶ σοῦ **μνείαν** ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσίν μου); Paul’s personal memory of Timothy’s tears (**μεμνημένος** σου τῶν δακρῶν); and his remembrance of Timothy’s sincere faith (**ὑπόμνησιν** λαβὼν τῆς ἐν σοὶ ἀνυποκρίτου πίστεως).

With the fourth memory term (**ἀναμνήσκω**), Paul, prompted by the memories he has just rehearsed (δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν, 1,6), forcefully activates Timothy’s present memory as follows. The combination of ἀναμνήσκω with the infinitive ἀναζωπυρεῖν creates an expression with imperatival force ²¹: “For this reason (i.e. shared memories of the past and specifically of Timothy’s sincere faith), I am reminding you to rekindle/revive . . .” (1,6). Timothy is given a hermeneutical task — involving the selection of memories that will determine a present course of action. And in effect the imperative is bracketed before and after by memory: for the object of “rekindling” — τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ that is the divine gifting for ministry (in association with the Spirit) ²² — acquires memory-status as

²¹ Cf. BDF §§389-390, who would probably prefer to describe the infinitive in terms of purpose. But the context makes the larger expression imperatival or deontic (so also 2,14: Ταῦτα ὑπομίμησκε διαμαρτυρόμενος ἐνὸς πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ λογομαχεῖν). See also OBERLINNER, *Zweiter Timotheusbrief*, 28.

²² For the same association of χάρισμα as discrete ministering potentialities associated with “the one Spirit”, “the same Spirit” (τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα), see 1 Cor 12,4-13.

Paul underscores his past role in mediating the gift to Timothy (ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν σοὶ διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου). From Timothy's perspective, the activation of his memory in the present ("Paul is reminding me; I am being reminded"), on the basis of past memories selected by Paul, is intended to engage him in the present in a decision-making process.

Third, we may say that tertiary memory is activated, within a torrent of intertextual soundings (see below), in the citation of the theological tradition set out in 1,9-10 (2,8; 4,1). Here social memory (in this case, "Judeo-Christian" salvation history) consists of the received tradition of God's salvific acts in the past and those that are yet future (4,1; cf. 3,12) that are essential to the interpretation of (present) human existence as "Christian existence". While not strictly personal memory, it can nonetheless become part of the structure of personal identity and present perception.

2. Intertextuality: Reshaping the Text for the Present

Intertextuality is a prominent device for activating secondary and tertiary textual "memories" in a new context so that they serve new purposes in the present²³. There remains a spectrum of opinions about the phenomenon bound at one end by structuralist assumptions and at the other end by poststructuralist assumptions. But there is general agreement about fundamental tenets: every text is the site of other texts (Bakhtin/Kristeva), even when "text" is expanded semiotically to include sign systems in general (Kristeva/Barthes); intertextuality names the signifying system operating by connotation and dependent on shared knowledge of current and prior discourses; texts are not autonomous but represent a kind of textual interdependency, and so on. But there is less agreement as to what this complex of features means for reading and producing texts²⁴. My minimal starting point, following Boyarin in his work on midrash, is to acknowledge the disruptive nature of intertextual engagement with precursor texts

²³ D. BOYARIN, "Old Wine in New Bottles: Intertextuality and Midrash", *Poetics Today* 8 (1987) 545.

²⁴ For the history and development of intertextuality in literary criticism, see M. PFISTER, "Konzepte der Intertextualität", in U. BROICH – M. PFISTER (Hgg.), *Intertextualität*. Formen, Funktionen, anglistische Fallstudien (Tübingen 1985) 1-30; IDEM, "How Postmodern is Intertextuality?", in H.F. PLETT (ed.), *Intertextuality* (Berlin – New York 1991) 207-224. Within biblical studies, see S. MOYISE, "Intertextuality and Biblical Studies: A Review", *Verbum et Ecclesia JRG* 23 (2002) 418-431; A. MERZ, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung des Paulus*. Intertextuelle Studien zur Intention und Rezeption der Pastoralbriefe (NTOA/StUNT 52; Fribourg 2004) 1-71. For attempts at poststructural application of intertextuality in biblical studies, see G. AICHELE – G.A. PHILLIPS (eds.), "Introduction: Exegesis, Eisegesis, Intergesis", *Semeia* 69-70 (1996) 7-18.

(revising, interrupting, erasing, etc.) not to destabilize or deconstruct texts (although texts may be unstable to some degree), but rather, by application of various techniques to precursor texts, to recontextualize the past in the present and redefine the present via the intertextual process. Since the textual focal point of the present investigation is a complex site of intertextuality, I will introduce briefly the work of one scholar who has explored intertextuality and its implications for understanding the PE.

The work of Annette Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstausslegung des Paulus* (2004), is a substantial engagement with intertextuality to examine, on the one hand, the reception of the PE (as part of the greater Pauline corpus) in the post-apostolic church of Polycarp and Ignatius, and, on the other hand, to examine the reception and reshaping of earlier Paul for the churches addressed in the PE ²⁵. In short, the authentic Pauline texts are pre-texts for the PE's intertextual reshaping of Paul, and the PE (along with the rest of the Pauline corpus) are pre-texts for Ignatius and Polycarp in their later reconfiguration of Paul.

My interest is specifically in the application of intertextuality within the Pauline corpus itself ²⁶. As noted above, the constructive-critical notion that the PE reflect a development of earlier Paul ("*Paulustradition*") has been around for some time, but the phenomenon that would come to be called intertextuality was not yet known by this term. It has never been clear how echoes of Paul within Paul (Galatians 5//Romans 8; Gal 3,28//1 Cor 12,13//Col 3,11; etc.) should be classified. What Merz has done in this regard is to give us a firm precedent for thinking in terms of intertextuality from beginning to end: not just in the sense of the NT use of the OT, but equally in the sense of Paul's (or pseudo-Paul's) use of Paul, which is perhaps akin to Bakhtin's original notion of intertextuality (dialogism) as the echoing of texts within the confines of a literary work itself ²⁷. In any case, whatever the textual horizon, it is the same connotative operation whereby authors create texts that make their meaning in dialogue with other texts and discourses, although, as the texts in play multiply (e.g. from Paul to the entire LXX), the effectiveness of the

²⁵ MERZ, *Die fiktive Selbstausslegung des Paulus*, 208-244 (she tests her thesis by observing the texts that take up women and slaves in 1 Timothy). M.M. MITCHELL ("Corrective Composition, Corrective Exegesis: The Teaching on Prayer in 1 Tim 2,1-15", in K.P. DONFRIED [ed.], *1 Timothy Reconsidered* [COP 18; Leuven 2008] 41-62, esp. 41-42, n.14) also engages with Merz's work but prefers to think of intertextuality in the PE in terms of "correction" of earlier texts and traditions.

²⁶ I have described allusions to the earlier Pauline letters in the PE in terms of intertextuality since at least 2006; see P.H. TOWNER, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI 2006) 632-648.

²⁷ PFISTER, "Konzepte der Intertextualität", 4-5.

process becomes more critically dependent upon common knowledge of relevant texts and discourses ²⁸.

2 Timothy exhibits a web of intertextuality based on a particular memory or consciousness of Romans, though the motivation of this consciousness is debated ²⁹. A brief mapping of the main intertextual “hits” will give a sense of the resonance with Romans in the text ³⁰. The main points of contact are:

- 2 Tim 1,3-5//Rom 1,8-12
 2 Tim 1,6-14//Rom 1,16; 8,11.15; 9,9-10
 2 Tim 2,8//Rom 1,3-4; 2,16; 16,25;
 2 Tim 2,11-13//Rom 6,8 [cf. 8,17; 12,12; 5,3-4]; 3,3
 2 Tim 2,20-21//Rom 9,21-23

2 Tim 1,3-5	contacting Rom 1,8-12
3 Χάριν ἔχω τῷ θεῷ, ᾧ λατρεύω ἀπὸ προγόνων ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει, ὡς ἀδιάλειπτον ἔχω τὴν περὶ σου μνηΐαν ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσίν μου νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας,	9b ὁ θεός, ᾧ λατρεύω 9c ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως μνηΐαν ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι (cf. Phlm 4) 10 ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου
4 ἐπιποθῶν σε ἰδεῖν, μεμνημένος σου τῶν δακρύων,* ἵνα χαρὰς πληρωθῶ,	11a ἐπιποθῶ [. . .] ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς
5 ὑπόμνησιν λαβὼν τῆς ἐν σοὶ ἀνυποκρίτου πίστεως [. . .] πέπεισμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν σοί. (12 οἶδα [...] ὅτι πεπίστευκα καὶ πέπεισμαι ὅτι...)	(cf. 12 “faith”-theme [see also Phlm 5-6]) (cf. πέπεισμαι in Rom 8,38; 14,14; 15,14)
2 Tim 1,6-14	contacting Rom 1,16; 8,11.15; 9,9-10 ³¹
6 τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ	(cf. 1,11b χάρισμα ὑμῖν πνευματικόν; 12,6)
7 οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεός πνεῦμα δειλίας ἀλλὰ [. . .]	8,15 οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον ἀλλ’ [. . .]

²⁸ See B. HATIM – I. MASON, *Discourse and the Translator* (London – New York 1990) 120-137, esp. 129. For interpretive taxonomies, see MERZ, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung des Paulus*, 88-113; PFISTER, “Konzepte der Intertextualität”, 25-30; R.B. HAYS, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT 1989) 29-32.

²⁹ For a helpful overview, see H. STETTLER, *Die Christologie der Pastoralbriefe* (WUNT 2/105; Tübingen 1998) 4-22. With various agendas, see the detailed treatments in: STETTLER, *Christologie*, 127-156, 165-195; M. THEOBALD, *Israel-Vergessenheit in den Pastoralbriefen*. Ein neuer Vorschlag zu ihrer historisch-theologischen Verortung im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ignatius-Briefe (StB 229; Stuttgart 2016) 94-109; G. LOHFINK, “Die Vermittlung des Paulinismus zu den Pastoralbriefen”, *BZ* 32 (1988) 169-188; OBERLINNER, *Zweiter Timotheusbrief*, 11-13, 32.

³⁰ I have for the most part adapted the tabular presentations of THEOBALD (*Israel-Vergessenheit*, 95, 98-99, 103, 106, 108-109) and STETTLER (*Christologie*, 129, 165).

³¹ See STETTLER, *Christologie*, 128-139.

2 Tim 1,6-14	contacting Rom 1,16; 8,11.15; 9,9-10
8 μὴ οὖν ἐπαισχυθῆς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν συγκακοπάθησον τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ	(cf. 1,16a Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) (cf. 8,17 εἶπερ συμπάσχομεν)
κατὰ δύναμιν θεοῦ	(cf. 1,16b δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἐστίν εἰς σωτηρίαν)
9 τοῦ σώσαντος ἡμᾶς	(cf. 9,9b-10a ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις τοῦ θεοῦ [. . .] οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ³²)
οὐ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἰδίαν πρόθεσιν	
12b οὐκ ἐπαισχύνομαι	1,16 Οὐ [. . .] ἐπαισχύνομαι
12c ᾧ πεπίστευκα καὶ πέπεισμαι ὅτι δυνατός	(cf. 1,16b δύναμις [...] θεοῦ)
14b διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος ἐν ἡμῖν	8,11 διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ὑμῖν
2 Tim 2,8	contacting Rom 1,3-4; 2,16; 16,25 ³³
8ab ἐγγεγερμένον ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ	1,3-4 ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα [. . .] ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν
8c κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου	2,16 κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου (cf. 16,25)
2 Tim 2,11-13	contacting Rom 6,8 (cf. 8,17; 12,12; 5,3-4); 3,3
11b εἰ [...] συναπεθάνομεν, καὶ συζήσομεν	6,8 εἰ [...] ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν Χριστῷ, [. . .] καὶ συζήσομεν αὐτῷ (cf. 8,17 εἶπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συν- δοξασθῶμεν)
12a εἰ ὑπομένομεν [. . .]	(cf. 12,12 ὑπομένω; 5,3-4 ὑπομονή)
13a εἰ ἀπιστοῦμεν, ἐκεῖνος πιστὸς μένει	3,3 εἰ ἠπίστησάν τινες, μὴ ἡ ἀπιστία αὐτῶν τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ καταργήσῃ; ³⁴

³² The formulation, οὐ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἰδίαν πρόθεσιν καὶ χάριν (1,9 lines 3-4; cf. Rom 9,11-12: ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις τοῦ θεοῦ μένη, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων), while innocent of any interest in the law, is at least to be considered as Pauline tradition (cf. Eph 2,8-9). See OBERLINNER, *Zweiter Timotheusbrief*, 39; TOWNER, *Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 467-469.

³³ See STETTLER, *Christologie*, 168-170; TOWNER, *Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 508-510.

³⁴ In addition to the replication of the conditional format, rhythm, and the contrast between human unbelief and faithfulness of God/Christ, it is perhaps noteworthy that in the Pauline corpus, the verb, ἀπιστέω, occurs only in these two instances. See esp. STETTLER, *Christologie*, 89-190; THEOBALD, *Israel-Vergessenheit*, 107.

2 Tim 2,20-21	contacting Rom 9,21-23
20a σκεύη	21 σκεῦος
20b καὶ ἃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν ἃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν	ὁ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος ὁ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν
21b ἔσται σκεῦος εἰς τιμὴν	22 σκεύη ὀργῆς 23 σκεύη ἐλέους
21d εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἡτοιμασμένον	23 ἃ προητοίμασεν εἰς δόξαν

Some of the intertextual contacts presented above, taken on their own, may seem less likely than others. But when taken together, and considered in relation to the text's structural features and persuasive aims, they suggest that the resonance with Romans is motivated, not random³⁵ — an intentional “consciousness” of Romans that is amply confirmed for the text of our interest, 2 Tim 1,3-14.

Now, having laid the necessary groundwork, I will concentrate on one of the more obvious intertexts, 2 Tim 1,7, and the way in which it serves to activate Timothy's memory of Rom 8,15 before forcing a detour into another territory.

III. THE INTERTEXTUAL FUNCTIONS OF 2 TIM 1,7

2 Tim 1,7 — οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα δειλίας ἀλλὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ

Rom 8,15 — οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον ἀλλ' ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας

Intertextuality is at least a three-sided process. At its most basic, there is the source(s) side where precursor texts make meaning in prior contexts, engaging intertextually their precursor texts, and so on. There is the side where the later author engages intertextually with a precursor text, along with (perhaps) additional themes and implications at work in the original discourse, to produce new meaning in a new context. An author engaged in intertextual transposition of texts may “transpose” for the new textual situation both the denotative (explicit words and phrases and surface meaning) and the connotative (implications reaching farther in or beyond the source text)³⁶. The third side in this process is of course the reader

³⁵ HATIM — MASON, *Discourse and the Translator*, 124.

³⁶ HAYS, *Echoes*, 18-19, 23, engaging with J. HOLLANDER, *The Figure of Echo. A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley, CA 1981) ix.

for whom the intertextual act was undertaken, in this case, Timothy, however he may be reconstructed ³⁷. To appreciate the intertext requires occupying these spaces imaginatively.

1. *Intertextuality: 2 Timothy and Romans*

The two texts, Rom 8,15 and 2 Tim 1,7, share three things in common. First, each is embedded in a larger “Spirit-text”, in which the Holy Spirit’s relation to Christian existence (though with different emphases) is a central theme. Second, each occurs in a discourse whose outlook is one of eschatological fulfillment, determined by the transition from the old epoch to the new. The *vũv* of Rom 8,1 establishes the eschatological coordinates for the discussion of Romans 8 ³⁸, and the transition of ages schema in 2 Tim 1,9-10 — *πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων, φανερωθεῖσαν δὲ νũv* — serves the same purpose in the latter text ³⁹. Third, within their respective arguments, each text has explanatory force (*γάρ*) ⁴⁰, establishing the rationale of a declaration just made (Rom 8,14.16-17) or of actions to be taken (2 Tim 1,6.8). Moreover, each statement makes its point by means of antithesis. In the developing salvation-historical argument of Romans 8, Paul has just associated indwelling by and submission to the Spirit (8,11.14) with adoption as God’s children, with 8,15 putting into antithesis a “spirit” that held the old epoch of unbelief in bondage to sin and death (*πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον*, cf. Rom 6,20-21) ⁴¹ and the “Spirit” (of God, 8,14) who grants adoption into God’s family in the new epoch (the “now”)

³⁷ HATIM — MASON, *Discourse and the Translator*, 133; R. COWARD — J. ELLIS, *Language and Materialism. Developments in Semiology and the Theory of the Subject* (London — Boston, MA 1977) 51-55, esp. 52.

³⁸ See A. GIENUSZ, *Romans 8: 18-30. “Suffering Does Not Thwart the Future Glory”* (Atlanta, GA 1999) 116; P. TACHAU, “*Einst*” und “*Jetzt*” im Neuen Testament. Beobachtungen zu einem urchristlichen Predigtschema in der neutestamentlichen Briefliteratur und zu seiner Vorgeschichte (FRLANT 105; Göttingen 1972) 127; J.D.G. DUNN, *Romans 1–8* (WBC 38A; Dallas, TX 1988) 451; R. JEWETT, *Romans. A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN 2007) 479.

³⁹ See OBERLINNER, *Zweiter Timotheusbrief*, 41-42; P.H. TOWNER, *The Goal of Our Instruction. The Structure of Theology and Ethics in the Pastoral Epistles* (JSNTS 34; Sheffield 1989) 63-64, 98; A.Y. LAU, *Manifest in Flesh. The Epiphany Christology of the Pastoral Epistles* (WUNT 2/86; Tübingen 1996) 118-119; MARSHALL, *Pastoral Epistles*, 707.

⁴⁰ JEWETT, *Romans*, 497; DUNN, *Romans 1–8*, 451.

⁴¹ Paul’s first reference to “spirit” (that which was not received) is either (in the fashion of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) a way of describing evil influences as “a spirit of (e.g.) promiscuity” (or of deceit, jealousy, envy, etc.; see *TReub* 5,3; *TSim* 2,7; 3,1; 4,8; *TLevi* 2,3; *TJud* 13,3; also 1QS 3.18ff.: “the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit”); or it is modeled after OT texts which mention God sending an evil spirit to confound the wicked (see *Jdg* 9,23; 1 Sam 16,14-16), or to discipline Israel (see *Isa* 29,10 = Rom 11,8).

of belief (ἀλλ' ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας)⁴². While ethical obligation is not far from view, the tone of the text is celebratory, rejoicing in what the gift of the Spirit “now” makes possible (ἐν ᾧ κρᾶζομεν· Αἰββα ὁ πατήρ). In 2 Tim 1,7 unbelief and belief are also put into antithesis. But there the tone is solemn, and the responsibility of duty is to the fore.

Consequently, the pretext, Rom 8,15, requires revision to address matters related to Timothy's commission and Paul's exhortation to renewal, to requisite actions and attitudes, and to be nimble enough to make other contacts. The revision is necessary because for Timothy it is not sufficient to understand what the gift of the Spirit *has made possible*; rather, he must understand what in his case, because of the gift of the Spirit, *has become obligatory*. For this level of understanding to be reached, and for it to be articulated in distinctive Pauline language and thought, Rom 8,15 must be revised. As I will demonstrate below, the hypothetical “spirit” of cowardice (πνεῦμα δειλίας), which God *did not* give (οὐ [...] ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεός), represents the peculiar unbelief of the one who has known the presence and power of God but disavowed him and betrayed his calling at the critical moment of danger. Conversely, “the Spirit” (implied) of power, love, and self-discipline (ἀλλὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ), which God *did* give (the contrastive force of the ἀλλά), corresponds to belief and to the resources necessary to serve faithfully in the face of suffering.

As to the revision, the differences between the two texts in tone and intention account for the shift in verbs from λαμβάνω to δίδωμι⁴³ and the shift in the associated subjects from the plural subject “you” (the Roman believers) contained in the verb to the expressed singular subject, ὁ θεός. In each case, action is completed. But in the latter transposition, which underscores God as gift-giver who issues commands related to commissioning and service, the tone of obligation and solemn admonition replaces the celebratory tone of the pre-text.

2. Intertextuality and Wordplay

Yet there is a fine detail to be explained in the intertextual transposition — the curious replacement of the original δουλείας with the visually similar δειλίας.

⁴² For the implications of υἰοθεσία, see esp. C.E.B. CRANFIELD, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 2 vols. (ICC; Edinburgh 1975) 1.396-398.

⁴³ It is to be noted that both verbs are used almost technically for believers “receiving the Spirit” (λαμβάνω: 2 Cor 11,4; Gal 3,2,14; John 7,39; 14,17; 20,22; Acts 1,8; 2,33,38; 8,15,17,19; 10,47; 19,2; 1 John 2,27) and God “giving the Spirit” (δίδωμι: Rom 5,5 [11,8]; 1 Cor 1,22; 5,5; Eph 1,17; 1 Thess 4,8 [1 Tim 4,14]; Luke 11,13; Acts 5,32; 8,18 [11,17]; 15,8).

Rom 8,15 οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε **πνεῦμα δουλείας** πάλιν εἰς φόβον ἀλλ’ [...]

2 Tim 1,7 οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκεν [...] **πνεῦμα δειλίας** ἀλλὰ [...]

J.L. Houlden noticed the resemblance but dismissed it as the product of the post-Pauline author’s “hazy recollection” of Rom 8,15 ⁴⁴. A.T. Hanson countered that the substitution of δειλίας for δουλείας is a deliberate play on words ⁴⁵. Wolter (as we saw above), not commenting on any relationship with Rom 8,15, maintains that δειλίας occurs as it does in 2 Timothy to make contact with the “δειλία-Motiv” (Deut 31,8; Josh 1,9), a core feature of the Moses-Joshua formula of commission ⁴⁶.

Hanson was right that δειλίας in 2 Tim 1,7 is the result of deliberate wordplay, but he did not see the wordplay as signaling anything more specific than the author’s “externalizing” of Pauline doctrine. Wolter has delved the deepest and succeeded in making the link to Deuteronomy 31 and Joshua 1, but the “δειλία-Motiv” he presents is incomplete. He does not account for the theme’s origin, its development beyond the Moses-Joshua model, or the ethical implications for the commissioning of Joshua and Timothy as successors. The δειλία topos both complicates and completes the commissioning formula, adding to the exhortation to strength and courage the threat of dire consequences should the successor disavow or betray his commission.

Among the varieties of wordplay, the deliberate transposition of δουλείας to δειλίας is best categorized as paronomasia (= the pun, *annominatio*). It can be accomplished in several ways (*Rhet.Her.* 4.29-32), one of which is by the slight alteration of the letters or vowel lengths of an initial reference to create a second reference that plays off the first. But its operative “trigger” is disturbance or interruption — it attracts attention by interrupting phonological, graphemic, or semantic expectations. Quintilian (9.3.66-75) includes paronomasia among techniques of playing upon verbal resemblance that can have a good effect upon an audience, creating emphasis (a class of figure “which attracts the ear of the audience and excites their attention by some resemblance, equality or contrast of words”, 9.3.66-67). The fourfold use of “memory” language in 2 Tim 1,3-6 (μνεία, μιμνήσκομαι, ὑπόμνησις, ἀναμιμνήσκω) is an instance of paronomasia

⁴⁴ J.L. HOULDEN, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Penguin NTC; London 21989) 110.

⁴⁵ A.T. HANSON, *The Pastoral Epistles* (NCB Commentary; Grand Rapids, MI 1982) 29, 121; cf. DIBELIUS – CONZELMANN, *Pastoral Epistles*, 98.

⁴⁶ WOLTER, *Paulustradition*, 32-36; see also A. WEISER, *Der Zweite Brief an Timotheus* (EKKNT XVI/I; Düsseldorf 2003) 109-110. Cf. MARTIN, *Pauli Testamentum*, 26, who, as Wolter, sees the purpose of the wordplay (paronomasia) to be that of making contact with the Moses/Joshua scene in Deut 31,8.

produced within the space of a single text ⁴⁷, which indicates the author's interest in this figure. In the case of δουλείας/δειλίας, a combination of homographic (eye rhyme) and homophonic (ear rhyme) play, the author produces paronomasia intertextually across two texts (pre-text and inter-text). Its effectiveness at the initial stage of the strategy depends, of course, on the reader's knowledge of the pre-text, Romans 8. And in such a case, the intended "disturbance" is a cumulative effect: it is a playing off (echoing) what is well-known, and therefore, anticipated, as the echoes in 1,7 (a combination of rhythm, sound, and sight in a developing semantic context) resonate and evoke the precursor text (Rom 8,15). But it is a complex process, involving the paronomasia in 1,3-6 and the resounding echoes of Romans that attract the reader/hearer to that source. Perhaps the resonance of Rom 8,11 in 1,14 must be sensed before the intertextual "penny drops" and the link between 2 Tim 1,7 and Rom 8,15 is made. In any case, given the catena of echoes of Romans in 1,3-14, the first stop in the intertextual reading of δουλείας/δειλίας is Rom 8,15. As a first stop, Romans 8 is not only completely appropriate — the two texts are Spirit-texts, and reflection on the Spirit-gift and on the Spirit's indwelling as the source of power for ministry and endurance of suffering (Rom 8,11 // 2 Tim 1,14) are obviously themes applicable to Timothy's situation — but it is required for the instructions to Timothy to assume a Pauline shape.

But the ultimate meaning of the wordplay is not to be found in the Romans pre-text. It creates a disturbance, by disrupting anticipation, introducing a second-stage intertextual move (a ricochet) that establishes contact with the story of Joshua's commissioning as Moses' successor. And Wolter, with his larger agenda, follows δειλία as far as the Moses-Joshua narrative and establishes that link. But since interested mainly in lexical affinity as indicator of literary dependence, he stops short of recovering the word group's parenetic function: the δειλία word group connects Timothy's commissioning to that of Joshua, but penetrates to a still deeper level of signification as it brings "the commission" into contact with a specific topos that adds a dreadful weight of responsibility to the institution.

⁴⁷ See WOLTER, *Paulustradition*, 213. Cf. Rom 1,28-31 (ἐδοκίμασαν [...] ἀδόκιμον; φθόνου φόνου; ἄσυνέτους ἄσυνθέτους); and the discussion of paronomasia in R.D. ANDERSON, Jr., *Glossary of Greek Rhetorical Terms*. Connected to Methods of Argumentation, Figures and Tropes from Anaximenes to Quintilian (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 24; Leuven 2001) 93; H.F. PLETT, *Literary Rhetoric*. Concepts — Structures — Analyses (Leiden – Boston, MA 2010) 174-179.

3. *The Cowardice Topos in the Biblical Tradition*

Ἀμέλει δὲ ἡ δειλία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι ὑπειξίς τις ψυχῆς ἐν φόβῳ.

“Cowardice would seem to be a givingway of the soul in fear”

(Theophrastus, *Char.* 25.1) ⁴⁸

Theophrastus, in his *Characters*, offers his reflections on human nature for the sake of those who would come after him. *Characters* is a series of thirty reflections on what we would call “character flaws”, the twenty-fifth of which is “cowardice” (ἡ δειλία, and the coward, ὁ δειλός). We first note how he relates “cowardice” to “fear” (φόβος), the latter being the broader emotion, the former being the extreme state that results from surrendering oneself to fear. His model is a military man at sea and on land. This particular coward will “do anything [...] sooner than fight the enemy” (25.5). It is not particularly surprising that cowardice would be discussed in a military context, since war with its prospects of death was one of the great testing grounds of manhood (Dio. Sic., 17.15.2; Sir 37,11; Philo, *Moses* I.233; Josephus, *Wars* 3.42). Its manifestation in countless other situations of life, an affliction worse than a physical disease (Philo, *Virt.* 26), spells disaster for the one so afflicted and, if he be in a position of authority, for the people under his charge (Polybius, 3.81.3-77, also regards δειλία as a weakness of the soul [τῆς ψυχῆς], the center of thought and emotion). These same themes follow the δειλία word group into biblical Greek, with one chief distinction — the link of this “character flaw” with religious unbelief, faithless betrayal, and disobedience.

In the LXX and NT, the word group (more than fifty occurrences, of which sixteen are translations of Hebrew) includes the noun, δειλία ⁴⁹, the adjectives, δειλός ⁵⁰, δειλαιός ⁵¹, and δειλόνυχος ⁵², and several verbs

⁴⁸ Text and translation according to *The Characters of Theophrastus* (ed. and trans. J.M. EDMONDS) (LCL; Cambridge, MA 1929, repr. 1967).

⁴⁹ There are some cases in which the Greek text presented in RAHLFS – HANHART (followed here and throughout) differs from one or more of the other text traditions (e.g., Lev 26,36 in which RAHLFS – HANHART has δειλίαν and B [and Swete’s text] has δουλίαν); these variations are few in number and do not affect the conclusions. “Cowardice”: Lev 26,36; Pss 54,5 (“fear of death”); 88,41; Prov 19,15 (“cowardice” associated with the man who is ἀνδρογύναιος); Sir 4,17; 1 Macc 4,32; 2 Macc 3,24; 3 Macc 6,19; 4 Macc 6,20.

⁵⁰ “Cowardly behavior” in various contexts: Deut 20,8 (in the face of warfare: ὁ φοβούμενος καὶ δειλὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ); Jdg 7,3; 9,4; 2 Chron 13,7; Wis 4,20; 9,14; 17,11; Sir 2,12; 22,18; 37,11; 1 Macc 3,56.

⁵¹ “Wretched, miserable” (generally associated with unbelief, abomination, shame): Hos 7,13 (associated with ungodliness, unbelief); Nah 3,7 (the condition of Ninevah); Bar 4,31(of people).32(of cities); Ezek 5,15 (δηλαῖστος).

⁵² A neologism: 4 Macc 8,16 (“faint-hearted” with ἀνανδρος [“wanting in manhood, cowardly”, 4 Macc 5,31; 6,21; 8,16]); 16,5.

built on the δειλ-stem, δειλαίνω⁵³, δειλανδρέω⁵⁴, δειλσιάνω⁵⁵, δειλιάω⁵⁶, and δειλόομαι⁵⁷. In translating the canonical Hebrew writings, the word group covers a number of semantically related Hebrew terms⁵⁸. Here, too, δειλία and (natural) φόβος are kept in close proximity. And we must make the distinction, suggested in certain contexts, between δειλία as a response of extreme fear (Ps 54,5), or a characteristic of inexperienced youth (2 Chr 13,7, of Rehoboam) and δειλία as the craven state that results from yielding to that fear (because of unbelief). We might expect that leaders would be held to higher standards, and indeed our initial focus will be on the role of the word group in relation to the commissioning of Joshua by Moses: Ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἰσχυε [...] μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ δειλία (Deut 31,7-8). But the phraseology employing δειλία is coined at the grass roots level of nascent Israel in calling the people to war to take possession of the land. The shape of the cowardice topos evolves naturally in later reflections on suffering for the faith at the hands of pagans, first in the Maccabean period and later in the Apostolic Fathers.

The most thematic occurrences of δειλία are in connection with the responsibilities and technical lexicon of (holy) war⁵⁹. Deuteronomy's fundamental texts on war (as late apologia⁶⁰) revolve around two main concerns: entering and occupying the land (Deut 1,6-8; 2,25-37; 3,1-22; 6,10-12; 7,1; 9,13; 11,23-25; 20,1-18; 29,6-8; 31,3-6) and keeping free from idolatry and those peoples who practice it (7,1-5.16-26; 12,1-3; 12,29 –

⁵³ “To be a coward”: 1 Macc 5,41 (in battle).

⁵⁴ “To be cowardly”: 2 Macc 8,13 (in the face of battle); 4 Macc 10,14; 13,10 (in the face of martyrdom).

⁵⁵ “To be cowardly”: Deut 20,8; 1 Macc 5,41.

⁵⁶ Deut 1,21; 31,6.8 (2×, μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ δειλία); Josh 1,9; 8,1; 10,25; Pss 13,5; 26,1 (of David: trust in God vs. cowardice); 77,53 (hope in God dispels cowardice); 103,7; 118,161; Sir 22,16; 31,14; Isa 13,7; Jer 15,5; 2 Macc 15,8; 4 Macc 14,4.

⁵⁷ 1 Macc 4,8.21; 16,6 (“fear or cowardice” in the face of battle).

⁵⁸ E.g. ירא = usually φοβέω (Deut 1,21.29; 3,2.22; 20,1.3; 31,6.8; Josh 8,1; 10,8.25); ערץ = δειλία (Deut 31,6; Josh 1,9); רך = φοβούμενος or δειλός (cf. Jdg 7,3A and B); רך, “cowardly” (δειλός in Deut 20,8 and so unfit for military action; in Lev 26,36, מרץ = δειλίαν).

⁵⁹ See E.W. CONRAD, *Fear Not Warrior* (BJS 75; Chico, CA 1986) 143-145 (on the variability of the language due to contextual factors and yet consistency of theme, see p. 17); Fuhs, “ירא”, *TDOT* 6.304-306.

⁶⁰ On the development of the ideology/theology of war in the Hebrew Scriptures, see J.H. TIGAY, *The JPS Commentary: Deuteronomy* (Philadelphia, PA – Jerusalem 1996) 430; S. NIDITCH, *War in the Hebrew Bible. A Study in the Ethics of Violence* (New York – Oxford 1993) esp. 150ff.; R. FIRESTONE, *Holy War in Judaism. The Fall and Rise of a Controversial Idea* (New York 2012) chs. 1-3; J.J. COLLINS, “The Agonistic Imagination: The Ethics of War in Deuteronomy”, in J.J. COLLINS – T.M. LEMOS – S.M. OLYAN (eds.), *Worship, Women, and War. Essays in Honor of Susan Niditch* (Brown Judaic Studies 357; Providence, RI 2015) 183-197.

13,1; 13,2-19; 16,21-22; 17,2-7; 18,9-14)⁶¹. It is within this context that the δειλία word group plays a role in the double-edged commissioning imperative — the positive call to courage and the negative command not to fear. Deut 31,6, where Moses charges the people in preparation for entering the land, a call to war⁶², demonstrates the basic structure of the formula and how it was managed in the translation into Greek:

(Moses to the people) ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἴσχυε, μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ δειλία μηδὲ πτοηθῇς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν (= τὰ ἔθνη, 31,3)

The phrase ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἴσχυε (“act like a man and be strong”; sometimes in subsequent occurrences the order is reversed) renders the Hebrew call to courage formula, **גִּבּוֹר גִּיָּה** (so also Deut 3,28; 31,7.23; Josh 1,6.7.9.18; 10,25)⁶³. The Hebrew of the command not to fear, the second part of the formula, shows more variation of terminology (three synonyms for fear), but it is fairly stable in translation: μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ δειλία (μηδὲ πτοηθῇς). Note that the specification of the potential locus and object of fear (the presence of the nations now inhabiting the land, ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν) leaves no doubt of the relevance and the gravity of the command against cowardice.

In the next version of Moses’ exhortation to Joshua, the two halves of the formula are equally present, but they actually serve as brackets for the longer commissioning sentence which gives details concerning entering the land and promises that God will go before him:

31,7-8: Ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἴσχυε, σὺ γὰρ εἰσελεύσῃ πρὸ προσώπου τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ὤμοσεν κύριος τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν δοῦναι αὐτοῖς, καὶ σὺ κατακληρονομήσεις αὐτὴν αὐτοῖς,⁸ καὶ κύριος ὁ συμπορευόμενος μετὰ σοῦ οὐκ ἀνίσει σε οὐδὲ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπη σε, μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ δειλία (cf. the abbreviated repetition in 31,23).

In Joshua 1, the command to have courage and not to fear is drawn out, with three occurrences of the call to courage, the last of which includes the proscription of cowardice in 1,9, giving the formula in full form:

⁶¹ FIRESTONE, *Holy War*, 17-18: “The command of possession, in turn, is intimately linked to Israel’s special relationship with God”. It is to be noted that any notion of forced conversion of the vanquished is absent (TIGAY, *Deuteronomy*, 430).

⁶² Following Moses, calling the people to war (with the same language) will become a priestly task (Deut 20,1-9); see CONRAD, *Fear Not*, 14-17. Significantly, the stipulation in 20,8 that the cowardly (ὁ φοβούμενος καὶ δειλὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ) be exempted from warfare lest he cause his brother to become a coward (ἵνα μὴ δειλιάνῃ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ) is implemented in Jdgs 7,3 (cf. 1 Macc 3,56).

⁶³ For the association of the Hebrew phrase, **גִּבּוֹר גִּיָּה**, with “military terminology” and the call to war, see esp. CONRAD, *Fear Not*, 6-37; SCHREINER, *TDOT* 1.325-326; L.L. ROWLETT, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence* (JSOT Supp 226; Sheffield 1996) 121-179, esp. 156-160; and T.P. DOZEMAN, *Joshua 1-12* (AB 6B; New Haven, CT – London 2015) 196.

1,6: ἰσχυε καὶ ἀνδρίζου, σὺ γὰρ ἀποδιαστελεῖς τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ τὴν γῆν, ἣν ὤμοσα τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν δοῦναι αὐτοῖς.

1,7: ἰσχυε οὖν καὶ ἀνδρίζου φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν καθότι ἐνετείλατό σοι Μουσῆς ὁ παῖς μου.

1,9: ἰσχυε καὶ ἀνδρίζου, μὴ δειλιάσης μηδὲ φοβηθῆς, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς πάντα, οὗ ἐὰν πορεύῃ.

When Josh 8,1 is reached, in preparation for the destruction of Ai, the Lord similarly commands Joshua, but in this case omitting the call to courage:

8,1: Μὴ φοβηθῆς μηδὲ δειλιάσης ⁶⁴.

And in the final occurrence of the language in 10,25, Joshua commands the people, reversing the order of the two parts:

10,25: Μὴ φοβηθῆτε αὐτοὺς μηδὲ δειλιάσητε, ἀνδρίζεσθε καὶ ἰσχύετε (cf. 2 Macc 15,8).

The assertion that the two-part charge meant to express assurance ⁶⁵ or encouragement ⁶⁶ is only partly correct. Reflections in these later texts (Deut 31,3; Josh 10,21) on the “grumbling” betrayal of Israel when first called to take the land by force (Deut 1,27) suggest, on the contrary, the presence in δειλία of a very real sense of warning.

That scene of Moses charging the people and Joshua in Deuteronomy 31 is itself an intertext that rewrites the earlier, paradigmatic scene in the history of Israel with which Deuteronomy begins (1,19-46). This opening scene is in turn a revision of the story in Numbers 13 and 14 of the rebellion of the people in the wilderness, which resulted in the forty-year wandering and death in the wilderness of the first generation of the people. Deuteronomy specifically shapes this memory of an original command: “I said to you (καὶ εἶπα πρὸς ὑμᾶς) [...] Look! The Lord our God has given over to you the land before you. Go up and take possession of your inheritance [...] Do not fear or be cowardly (μὴ φοβεῖσθε μηδὲ δειλιάσητε)” (Deut 1,20-21). The revision, with its focus now on Moses (cf. Num 14,6-7) and its addition of δειλιάω (cf. Num 14,9b.9f), anticipates the later scene (and language) of commissioning. Absent from this initial charge is the later formulaic command to be courageous, but in its place, as a preface to the command itself and the formulaic proscription of cowardice,

⁶⁴ The Hebrew command “not to fear” differs from language used in 1,9, but the LXX chooses to use the same Greek expression in each case (see discussion of the differences in DOZEMAN, *Joshua 1-12*, 364-368).

⁶⁵ So TIGAY, *Deuteronomy*, 15, specifically in reference to the command not to fear.

⁶⁶ So SCHREINER, *TDOT* 1.325-326.

is this promise: ἴδετε παραδέδωκεν ὑμῖν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν τὴν γῆν (1,21a; cf. Num 14,8b.9e). The first generation's reaction to the report of the twelve spies defined "cowardice": not simply the "givingway of the soul in fear" (Theophrastus), but in fact doing so despite having known the promises (1,20-21), presence (1,30), and power of God (1,31.33). The definition concludes with this indictment: "in this matter you did not trust the Lord our God" (καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ οὐκ ἐνεπιστεύσατε κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ, 1.32) ⁶⁷. This is the root of the δειλία topos: cowardice as unbelief and disobedience in the face of God's enemy, despite full knowledge of the presence and the promises of God ⁶⁸.

In the martyr reflections linked to the Maccabean era, δειλία is associated with denial of the faith in the face of pagan torture, a natural extension of the cowardice topos in which the high expectation of faithfulness in the military operation to take possession of the land is carried over to the changed situation of resistance to pagan occupation and desecration within the land. The best examples come in martyr narratives in 4 Maccabees. In the account of Eleazar's torture, he foregoes eating pork (refusing even to pretend to eat it) to escape, unwilling to leave behind a pattern of impiety (ἀσέβεια) and cowardice (δειλία, 4 Macc 6,19-21; Wis 4,20): "For it would be shameful if we were to survive a little longer and be a mockery for this to all for our cowardice (πρὸς πάντων ἐπὶ δειλίᾳ) and be despised by the tyrant as cowardly (ὡς ἄνδρῳι), while also not defending our divine law until death" ⁶⁹.

Other occurrences of the word group fall generally into line with what we have seen. Cowardice is concretized where δειλία describes the depraved condition of cities (impious, rebellious, or unbelieving; Hos 7,13; Nah 3,7; Bar 4,31; Ezek 5,15). Cowardice is linked to wickedness (πονηρία, 17,10; cf. Jer 15,5) and to behavior regarded as abominable (Prov 19,12; 4 Macc 5,31). Sirach 2,12-18 associates cowardice with the dissembling sinner (ἁμαρτωλός) and his unbelief (ὅτι οὐ πιστεύει), later opposing δειλία to wisdom (22,16.18) and to the fear of the Lord (34,14; cf. Ps 26,1). In the description of Jewish resistance, as Judas Maccabeus attempts to rally those Jews with him to face the enemy, cowardice and unbelief are linked in the description of those who fled (2 Macc 8,13). Elsewhere cowardice is opposed to piety (εὐσέβεια, 4 Macc 16,4-5). In reflecting on the disgrace of the exile, the Psalmist associates δειλία

⁶⁷ See also 2 Macc 8,13 for the connection between cowardice and unbelief.

⁶⁸ TIGAY, *Deuteronomy*, 15, 430.

⁶⁹ See also the sequence of narratives about the seven brave brothers (4 Macc 8,16: δελόψυχος; 10,14 and 13,10: δειλιανδρέω), and the connection of bravery with εὐσέβεια (4 Macc 10,14 and 13,10).

with Israel's corrupt leaders from whom God has departed. Finally, cowardice is a trait scornfully associated with God's enemies (1 Macc 4,32; 2 Macc 3,24; 3 Macc 6,19), who (in the apocalyptic scenario) are to be destroyed on the day of judgment (Zeph 2,7).

In the case of NT occurrences of the word group (5×), the disciples' fearful reaction to the natural elements fall into this category: Τί δειλοί ἐστε; οὐπω ἔχετε πίστιν; (Mark 4,40; Matt 8,26). Traced back to Deuteronomy (the cowardice of the first generation, the charge to the second generation about to enter the land, and the commissioning of Joshua), the fundamental point is the proximity of God (and attendant promises of provision and protection), which in these Synoptic texts translates into Jesus' presence with his disciples in the boat. In the somber setting of John 14,27, the exhortation designed to encourage, μὴ ταρασσέσθω ὑμῶν ἡ καρδία μηδὲ δειλιάτω, contemplates both unbelief (14,1.11.29!) and the new proximity of God in the indwelling Spirit (14,3.16-18). In the apocalyptic sequence of Rev 21,8, the first category of people to be judged is the δειλοί, those who have renounced their faith in Christ (cf. Zeph 2,7) ⁷⁰.

The δειλία topos extends into the Apostolic Fathers. Four of six occurrences relate cowardice to the prospect of martyrdom by wild beasts (*Mart. Pol.* 3.1) or to denial of the faith to escape martyrdom (*Mart. Pol.* 4; *Herm. Sim.* 9.21.3; 9.28.4) ⁷¹. Note the juxtaposition of cowardice and shame in *Herm. Sim.* 9.21.3: οὕτω καὶ οἱ δίψυχοι, ὅταν θλίψιν ἀκούσωσι, διὰ τὴν δειλίαν αὐτῶν εἰδωλολατρουῖσι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπαισχύνονται τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν (cf. 2 Tim 1,7-8).

CONCLUSION: 2 TIM 1,7 AND THE WEIGHT OF ADMONITION

2 Timothy addresses the successor of Paul, and Wolter has demonstrated how the Moses-Joshua narrative of commissioning, in its canonical form and as it was remembered in later Hellenistic-Jewish writings, established a model for this succession. But in doing so, Wolter stops short; in terms of intertextuality, he does not follow to their source the echoes produced by the turbulence of the δουλείας/δειλίας wordplay. By means of a delicate play on words, the shifting of three letters, the successor of Paul was pushed beyond the familiar territory of Pauline language and

⁷⁰ See SPICQ, *TLNT* 1.301-302. C.R. KOESTER, *Revelation* (AB 38A; New Haven, CT – London 2014) 800 (following Spicq): “Cowardice in Revelation means relinquishing one's faith in the battle against evil”.

⁷¹ See Ign. *Rom.* 5.2 (ironically of wild beasts afraid to touch would-be victims); *Herm. Sim.* 9.1.3 (of the fear associated with unbelief).

thought (Romans 8) and teased into the formative story of Joshua's commissioning by Moses. But by making δειλία the intertextual trigger, instead of some more overt signal, such as "Just as Moses laid hands on Joshua", we are compelled to track its resonance back beyond Wolter's base text of Deuteronomy 31, where Moses commissions Joshua, to Deuteronomy 1, where δειλία in its primal use is associated specifically with the disobedience, unbelief, and betrayal of Israel's first generation. When this move is made, and then the development of a distinctive cowardice topos is examined, the δειλία word group, in original commissioning formulae, in martyr reflections, and in the opening admonition to Timothy, bears the reminder of the possibility and the price of betraying the promises and presence of God.

In the story that unfolds in 2 Timothy, though it may seem muted, indirect, and underplayed, the warning-threat of cowardice as betrayal (refusal to suffer for the gospel, to be associated with the imprisoned Paul and the Christian testimony, which is how the command μή οὖν ἐπαισχυνθῇς in 1,8 should be glossed) is presented to Timothy as a part of the persuasive strategy of the letter. Such a warning is not out of place, given the letter's other dominant themes, which contrast the faithfulness and boldness of Paul and that of Onesiphorus (1,16-18) with the betrayal of deserters and apostates (1,15; 2,15-18.20b-21; 3,1-9.13; 4,3-4.10.14-16), which normalize Christian suffering (1,8.12; 2,3.9; 3,10-12; 4,5), and which decry shame for the gospel (1,8.12.16). In the opening scene, the successor, gifted by God and reminded of the authoritative imposition of Paul's hands and the gift of the Spirit, is placed between these poles of belief and unbelief, courage and cowardice, boldness and shame, in the contemplation of the meaning of δειλία, with the faithfulness of Joshua, Eleazar, and Paul on one side and the betrayal of Israel's first generation, deserting coworkers, and apostates on the other. The closing adjuration of 4,1-5, and particularly the solemnity of 4,1 (διαμαρτύρομαι, cf. 1 Thess 4,6), where God and Christ Jesus (in his capacity as eschatological judge) are called as witnesses of Timothy's commissioning, contains similar warnings⁷². Note that Paul places himself within the ambit of the Lord's judgment in expectation of a reward for faithfulness (4,8), which, in this context, extends to Timothy as well on the condition that he mirrors Paul in fulfilling his own ministry (4,5: τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον; cf. 4,6-7.17).

Who fashioned or remembered this story of a Timothy thinking twice about the cost of his commitment to succeed Paul? Who thought to play

⁷² On the parenetic use of judgment in 4,1, see OBERLINNER, *Zweiter Timotheusbrief*, 153-154.

the word game and bring Rom 8,15 and then δειλία and its dark topos into the story? Whoever it was, if it was not Paul or even Timothy himself, the author either remembered or created a scenario in which the successor of Paul was caught on the horns of a dilemma, similar to that experienced by Israel's first generation on the verge of entering the promised land. Called to the task, having experienced God's presence and power in the wilderness, promised support by the God who would go before them, and commanded to enter the land, they reacted in cowardice, unbelief, and betrayal. For Jews in the Maccabean era and increasingly for Christians under Roman rule, cowardice or courage, unbelief or faithfulness, shame or boldness might turn on one's refusal or readiness to face death for upholding the Torah or proclaiming the gospel. The design of 2 Timothy may be to shape or salvage a picture of the Pauline mission as continuing after the apostle's death, but if so, it is one that puts the highest price on faithfulness and boldness and warns of the extreme cost of cowardice.

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SUMMARY

This article explores the opening exhortation to Timothy in 2 Timothy 1, with a particular focus on 1,7 as an admonition whose gravity has been missed. Close examination of 2 Tim 1,7 reveals it to be an intertextual rewriting of Rom 8,15 intentionally complicated by an instance of wordplay (paronomasia). The subtle wordplay produces a second stage of intertextuality that leads to the tradition of Joshua's succession of Moses (Deuteronomy 31) and the formulaic language of commissioning. But the resonance reaches beyond this tradition to another web of texts that, especially when translated into Greek (LXX), form a dark topos taken up with the relation between cowardice and unbelief (the cowardice topos). Once the intertextual ground has been covered and the cowardice topos observed, the admonitory nature of 2 Tim 1,7 can be seen: the intertextual remembrance, which of course includes the heroic figure of Joshua and his faithfulness, nonetheless issues a dire warning, calling to mind the consequences of unbelief and cowardice as it raises the specter of betrayal.

A FRESH LOOK AT DEUT 34,6 (MASDEUT)

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1965, during the second excavation season at Masada, some fragments of the book of Deuteronomy (catalogued as MasDeut or 1043/a-d) were discovered by Yigael Yadin and his team in the so-called *genizah* of the Masada synagogue ¹. Nevertheless, one had to wait until 1998 for the preliminary publication of these Deuteronomy fragments by Shemaryahu Talmon ². One year later, Talmon published the text in the 6th volume of the comprehensive edition of the Masada excavations ³.

MasDeut is a collection of four fragments of parchment, labelled as a, b, c, and d. They are the remains of two columns of a *de luxe* scroll that contained the three final chapters (32–34) of the book of Deuteronomy ⁴. Fragment a, being the largest one, contains on seven lines remains of two columns. In the first column, (parts of) four letters from Deut 32,46–47

¹ With regard to the identification of locus 1043 as a synagogue and the burial pits as a *genizah*, see Y. YADIN, “The Excavation of Masada — 1963/64. Preliminary Report”, *IEJ* 15 (1965) 1–120, here 76–79. See also Y. YADIN, *Masada. Herod’s Fortress and the Zealot’s Last Stand* (London 1966) 184–189; Y. YADIN, “The Synagogue at Masada”, *Ancient Synagogues Revealed* (ed. L.I. LEVINE) (Jerusalem 1981) 19–23, here 22. See also E. TOV, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Atlanta, GA 2009) 123, 318. M. POPOVIĆ, “Qumran as Scroll Storehouse in Times of Crisis? A Comparative Perspective on Judaean Desert Manuscript Collections”, *JSJ* 43 (2012) 551–594, here 584, has questioned the fragment’s hiding place as a *genizah*.

Yadin did not mention the fragments of Deuteronomy in the first excavation report. See Yadin, “The Excavation of Masada”, 79–82, 103–105. He referred to them for the first time in the published version of his “Qumran and Masada” conference: Y. YADIN, “*Qwmr’n wmsdh — ntwnym ’rky’wlgym lqby’t zmn hmgylwt (mtwk hrš’h bkynws hk” b lydy’t h’rš)* [Hebrew]”, *BIES* 30 (1966) 117–127, here 126. Many years later, Yadin very briefly referred to the Deuteronomy fragments in Y. YADIN, “Masada”, *Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* 3 (1977) 793–816, here 810.

² S. TALMON, “Fragments of a Deuteronomy Scroll from Masada: Deuteronomy 33.17 – 34.6 (1043/A-D)”, *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World. A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon* (eds. M. LUBETSKI – C. GOTTLIEB – S. KELLER) (JSOTSup 273; Sheffield 1998) 150–161. Nevertheless, in the critical apparatus of the edition of 4QDeut¹ within the 1995 DJD volume, Julie Duncan already referred to MasDeut: J.A. DUNCAN, “4QDeut¹”, *Qumran Cave 4. IX. Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (eds. E. ULRICH, *et al.*) (DJD 14; Oxford 1995) 109–112, here 112.

³ S. TALMON *et al.*, “Hebrew Fragments from Masada”, *Masada VI. Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965. Final Reports* (eds. S. TALMON *et al.*) (Jerusalem 1999) 1–58, here 51–58.

⁴ For a detailed description of the fragments, see TALMON, “Fragments of a Deuteronomy Scroll”, 152–157. As to the characterisation of MasDeut as a *de luxe* scroll, see TOV, *Scribal Practices*, 126.

are readable, whereas the second column contains remains of Deut 33,17-21. Fragment b has a large blank stretch of parchment, which probably served as a handle sheet and a protective wrapper of the scroll. Moreover, it contains on seven lines fragments of the text of Deut 33,18-24. Fragments a and b can be conjoined. Similarly, fragments c and d, both being parts of the second column, can be aligned. Fragment c reads fragments of Deut 34,4-6 on five lines, whereas fragment d has remains of Deut 34,2-5 on six lines.

II. THE TEXT OF MASDEUT

In his edition, Talmon is rather unequivocal as to the text of MasDeut. In several instances, he accentuates the fact that the Hebrew text of Deut 33,17 – 34,6* according to MasDeut is identical to the Masoretic Text (MT) ⁵. Moreover, he emphasises that the textual agreement between MasDeut and MT is strengthened by the agreement with regard to the Masoretic section system. In MasDeut (fragment a, line 4), the word חֹל, which concludes the blessing of Issachar (Deut 33,19), is followed by a blank. According to Talmon, this concurs with the “closed section” (פרשה סתומה) system in MT (both in the Leningrad [L] and in the Aleppo [A] codex) ⁶. Thus, on the basis of this single occurrence of a *parashah* in the extant text of MasDeut, Talmon concludes “that MasDeut probably contained the MT sections throughout” ⁷.

Notwithstanding his firm affirmation of the textual identity of MasDeut and MT (as witnessed in L and A), Talmon has to mention a “sole slight divergence” between the text of MasDeut and MT ⁸. In Deut 33,19 (fragment b), MasDeut has a defective reading (שפוני), contrary to the *plene* reading in MT (שפוני) ⁹. Apparently, in this instance, Talmon was only

⁵ TALMON, “Fragments of a Deuteronomy Scroll”, 152 (“The extant text is identical with MT”); 156 (“The preserved text of MasDeut is identical with MT”); 157 (“The textual identity of MasDeut with MT”). See equally TALMON, “Hebrew Fragments from Masada”, 55 (“The preserved text of MasDeut is identical to MT” and “the overall textual agreement of MasDeut with MT”); 56 (“The textual similarity to MT”).

⁶ On the difference between “open” and “closed” sections in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see E. TOV, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. Third Edition. Revised and Expanded (Minneapolis, MN 2012) 48-49, 198-201; TOV, *Scribal Practices*, 143-163.

⁷ TALMON, “Fragments of a Deuteronomy Scroll”, 157; see equally TALMON, “Hebrew Fragments from Masada”, 55.

⁸ TALMON, “Fragments of a Deuteronomy Scroll”, 156. For MT, see D.N. FREEDMAN, *The Leningrad Codex*. A Facsimile Edition (Grand Rapids, MI – Leiden 1998) 250. See also C. MCCARTHY, *’lh hdbrym — Deuteronomy* (BHQ 5; Stuttgart 2007) 102.

⁹ MCCARTHY, *Deuteronomy*, 102, mentions MasDeut and 4QDeut^b as reflecting the reading of B19^a, thus neglecting the fact that both manuscripts have a defective reading for שפוני. In accordance with MT, the Samaritan Pentateuch (SamP) also has a *plene* reading:

looking at codex L. Codex A, on the contrary, has a defective reading (ושפני) as well ¹⁰.

Moreover, also with regard to the section system, Talmon has to nuance his presupposition that MasDeut contained MT section divisions throughout. In his reconstruction of the last line of fragments a and b, he admits that there is not enough space left to insert a “closed section” before the blessing of Asher (Deut 33,24), as it is the case in MT (both in codex L and A).

Nevertheless, despite these exceptions — both the defective reading of שפני in Deut 33,19, and the absence of the “closed section” in the same verse —, Talmon argues that the extant text of MasDeut, as well as the text of the other biblical scrolls found at Masada ¹¹, “is identical with MT” ¹²:

The Masada biblical fragments exhibit uniformly the text of some books of the Hebrew Bible in the Masoretic tradition (MT), with only a few ‘true’ variant readings and a larger number of minor differences, pertaining mostly to plene and defective spelling. [...] This identity contrasts sharply with the abundance of textual variants in biblical scrolls and fragments from the Qumran caves ¹³.

Talmon’s view has been shared by several scholars, and has become the prevailing view. Emanuel Tov emphasizes the fact that “all the texts found in the Judean Desert, except for the ones found at Qumran, reflect M” ¹⁴.

A. VON GALL, *Der hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*. Fünfter Teil: Deuteronomium (Giessen 1918) 436; A. TAL, *The Samaritan Pentateuch Edited According to MS 6 (C) of the Shekhem Synagogue* (Tel Aviv 1994) 210.

¹⁰ See <http://www.aleppocodex.org/> (access 18 June 2020). B. ZIEMER, “A Stemma for Deuteronomy”, in *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M. LANGLOIS) (CBET 94; Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT 2019) 127-197, here 190, even argues that “it cannot be excluded that this manuscript [MasDeut – H.A.] has itself been a parent text for a parent text of the Aleppo Codex”.

¹¹ Next to MasDeut, fragments of four other biblical books have been found at Masada. A fragment of the book of Ezekiel (MasEzek) has been discovered in the “genizah” of the “synagogue” as well, whereas the fragments of the book of Genesis (MasGen) are probably, instead, fragments of the book of Jubilees; see I. YOUNG, “The Stabilization of the Biblical Text in the Light of Qumran and Masada. A Challenge for Conventional Qumran Chronology?”, *DSD* 9 (2002) 364-390, here 371 — Leviticus (MasLev^a and MasLev^b) and Psalms (MasPs^a and MasPs^b) have been found in the so-called “Casemate of the Scrolls” (locus 1039).

¹² TALMON, “Fragments of a Deuteronomy Scroll”, 152, 156.

¹³ TALMON, “Hebrew Fragments from Masada”, 25.

¹⁴ E. TOV, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. Second Revised Edition (Minneapolis, MN – Assen 2001) 191. See equally Tov, *Textual Criticism*. Third Edition, 179. However, Tov also has nuanced this view in accentuating the fact that “the” MT actually is an illusion: “The fact that all the texts left by the Zealots at Masada (dating until 73 CE) reflect M is also important. But there is a snag in this description. While on the one hand it was claimed [...] that those involved in the transmission of M did not insert any change in M and as a

David Seely notes that the texts found at Masada are “virtually identical” to MT¹⁵. Benjamin Ziemer characterises MasDeut as “one of the outstanding proto-masoretic manuscripts”¹⁶. Also Lawrence Schiffman accentuates that, “the general character of these texts is almost identical to the Masoretic text”¹⁷. Ian Young goes in the same direction when he states that, in contrast with the Qumran biblical scrolls representing a wide textual variety, “the Masada texts present a corpus of biblical texts made up entirely of text with a clear and close relationship with the MT”¹⁸. As such, “the finds from Masada [...] only attest proto-Masoretic texts”¹⁹. Hence, Young speaks in terms of an “exclusive relationship of the Masada (and later) texts to the MT”²⁰. Nevertheless, although not questioning Talmon’s general assumption that the Masada biblical scrolls represent the proto-MT, Young also seems to nuance the presumed differences between MT-related Masada biblical manuscripts, on the one hand, and the Qumran biblical scrolls’ pluriformity, on the other: “The question arises whether the Masada texts really do represent a corpus significantly different in nature from the Qumran texts, or whether their apparent dissimilarity is based more on chance”²¹. A close and renewed look at MasDeut, which will be offered in the next section, will make clear that this doubt is more than justified, at least with regard to MasDeut.

III. A RENEWED LOOK AT MASDEUT

In Deut 34,5-6 (MT), Moses’ death and burial are narrated. At the end of Deut 34,5, it is said that “Moses died in the land of Moab, according

result its inconsistency in spelling as well as its mistakes have been preserved for posterity, on the other hand, there never existed one single text that could be named *the* Masoretic Text. In fact at a certain stage there was a *group* of Masoretic texts” (Tov, *Textual Criticism*. Second Edition, 28).

¹⁵ D.R. SEELY, “Masada and the World of the New Testament”, *Brigham Young University Studies* 36 (1996/97) 287-301, here 291.

¹⁶ ZIEMER, “A Stemma for Deuteronomy”, 190.

¹⁷ L.H. SCHIFFMAN, “Masada and its Scrolls”, *The Jerusalem Post* (December 10, 2019). (<https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/masada-and-its-scrolls-610486>, cited 18 June 2020). See also L.H. SCHIFFMAN, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*. The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran (Philadelphia, PA 1994) 172. See also H.M. PATMORE, “Masada, Texts from”, in *T&T Clark Encyclopedia of Second Temple Judaism*. Volume II (eds. D.M. GURTNER – L.T. STUCKENBRUCK) (Edinburgh 2019) 469-472, here 469: “The texts the manuscripts [of Masada] contain is essentially identical with the Masoretic Text tradition.”

¹⁸ YOUNG, “The Stabilization of the Biblical Text”, 370.

¹⁹ YOUNG, “The Stabilization of the Biblical Text”, 364.

²⁰ YOUNG, “The Stabilization of the Biblical Text”, 366.

²¹ YOUNG, “The Stabilization of the Biblical Text”, 372.

to the word of YHWH” (על פי יהוה) (וימת שם משה [...]). The next verse (MT) continues with the words ויקבר אתו (“he buried him”). The question here arises who should be considered as the subject of this verbal form ויקבר (vocalised as ויקבר). Within the entire pericope of Deut 34,1-8, three subjects are mentioned: Moses, YHWH, and the Israelites. It is Moses who went up (ויעל משה – v. 1) Mount Nebo, and died (וימת שם משה – v. 5) in the land of Moab when he was 120 years old (ומשה בן מאה – v. 7). It was YHWH who showed Moses the promised land (ויראהו יהוה – v. 1) and spoke to him (ויאמר יהוה – v. 4). Finally, the Israelites are mentioned as weeping for Moses (ויבכו בני ישראל – v. 8).

Within the history of interpretation, all three — Moses, YHWH, and the Israelites — have been considered as being the subject of the verb ויקבר in Deut 34,6 (MT). For each of these options, arguments have been given, but these arguments are either problematic (from a grammatical and/or theological perspective), far-fetched, or unconvincing²².

As is often the case, also the ancient textual witnesses seem to struggle with the problematic character of Deut 34,6. Indeed, the text of MT, reading a singular form (ויקבר) and thus at least suggesting that YHWH buried Moses, is not shared by all textual witnesses. 4QDeut¹ — the only preserved Qumran fragment of Deut 34,6 — reads the plural form ויקברו (“and they buried”)²³. From the perspective of the content, it is not clear who is to be understood by this impersonal 3rd person plural “they”, in

²² For a detailed overview of the history of interpretation, see C. HOUTMAN, “De dood van Moses, de knecht des Heren. Notities over en naar aanleiding van Deuteronomium 34:1-8”, *De Knecht*. Studies rondom Deutero-Jesaja door collega’s en oud-leerlingen aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. J.L. Koole (Kampen 1978) 72-82, here 72-77. Besides the view that it was YHWH who buried Moses, some have argued that Moses buried himself, or that he was buried by some Israelites, or by one or more angels.

Although theoretically possible, a vocalisation deviating from MT does not solve the problem. In this respect, one could vocalise the proto-MT ויקבר אתו as ויקבר אתו (3rd person singular *Nifal* — “and he was buried”) instead as ויקבר אתו (3rd person singular *Qal* — “and he [YHWH?] buried him”). However, when vocalising the verbal form as such, the object אתו becomes very problematic. Moreover, the question as to who precisely buried Moses remains unanswered. According to B. KENNICOTT, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum, cum variis lectionibus*. Tomus Primus (Oxford 1776) 442, some manuscripts read ויקברו instead of ויקבר.

²³ See K. FINSTERBUSCH, “Identität in der Differenz. Anmerkungen zur Textüberlieferung der Deuteronomium-Handschriften vom Toten Meer”, *Juda und Jerusalem in der Seleukidenzeit*. Herrschaft – Widerstand – Identität. Festschrift für Heinz-Josef Fabry (eds. U. DAHMEN – J. SCHNOCKS) (BBB 159; Göttingen 2010) 339-362, here 359-360, with regard to 4QDeut¹: “Der Gedanke drängt sich auf, dass die Vorstellung des Mose begrabenden Gottes zu ‘anthropomorph’ erschien und der Text entsprechend geändert wurde [...] So war ein Schreiber in Dtn 34,6 wohl so frei, gegen seine Vorlage zu entscheiden, das *nicht* Gott selbst Mose beerdigte”. The plural form can be compared to Josh 24,29-30: “Joshua died [...] and they buried him (ויקברו אתו)”; see also Josh 24,33: “Eleazar died [...] and they buried him (ויקברו אתו)”.

particular when challenged by the fact that the continuation of Deut 34,6 explicitly states that “no one knows his burial place to this day” (ולא ידע) (איש את קברתו עד היום הזה). 4QDeut¹ stands not alone with this reading. Although August von Gall in his eclectic edition of SamP follows the reading of MT (ויקבר)²⁴, his critical apparatus makes clear that several manuscripts of SamP — all dating, however, from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries — also read the plural form ויקברו²⁵. With the exception of one single manuscript, all preserved Septuagint (LXX) manuscripts also read a plural form (καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτόν)²⁶. Finally, Targum Neofiti and the Fragmentary Targum also read a plural form²⁷.

In line with Talmon’s transcription of MasDeut, all critical editions of the manuscripts that make reference to the Deuteronomy scroll of Masada mention MasDeut as a textual witness that supports the reading of MT.

²⁴ See also TAL, *The Samaritan Pentateuch*, 211.

²⁵ VON GALL, *Der hebräische Pentateuch*, 437.

²⁶ See J.W. WEVERS, *Deuteronomium*, Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum III/2 (Göttingen 2006) 374. Only minuscule 500 (11-12th century) reads the singular ἔθαψεν. The plural form in LXX has often been interpreted as evidencing the antianthropomorphic tendency of the LXX translator of the book of Deuteronomy. See J.W. WEVERS, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, (SBLSCS 39; Atlanta, GA 1995) 559: “According to MT it was Yahweh who buried Moses. That this was the original account is clear from the next clause: ‘no one knew his grave.’ This was too much for LXX, so it used a plural verb ἔθαψαν so as to avoid the direct statement that the Lord buried him by using an indefinite plural”. Further C. DEN HERTOG – M. LABAHN – T. POLA, “Deuteronomion / Deuteronomium”, *Septuaginta Deutsch*. Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament. Band 1: Genesis bis Makkabäer (eds. M. KARRER – W. KRAUS) (Stuttgart 2011) 523-601, here 601: “Die LXX wollte den Anthropomorphismus vermeiden und Gott nicht mit der Berührung eines Toten belasten”. See also C.T. FRITSCH, *The Anti-Anthropomorphisms of the Greek Pentateuch* (Princeton, NJ 1943) 53: “The LXX, by making the verb plural, avoids all doubt as to whether the form was impersonal or had Jehovah as subject”. According to E. OTTO, *Deuteronomium* 23,16 – 34,12 (HTKAT; Freiburg im Breisgau 2017) 226, the plural form already was present in the *Vorlage* of the LXX translator: “Ist in diesem Falle [...] mit einer theologischen Korrektur des Motivs, JHWH sei Totengräber, nicht nur der Übersetzer, sondern schon der hebräischen Vorlage der LXX, wofür die Qumran-Handschrift spricht, zu rechnen”. As to the (anti)anthropomorphic tendency of the LXX version of Deuteronomy, see H. AUSLOOS, “‘You Saw no Form When YHWH Spoke to You at Horeb’ (Deut 4,15). Antianthropomorphisms in the Greek Deuteronomy”, *Toward a Theology of the Septuagint* — Stellenbosch Congress on the Septuagint, 2018 (eds. J. COOK – M. RÖSEL) (SBLSCS 74; Atlanta, GA 2020) 163-177, and H. AUSLOOS, “Human Activities Attributed to God in Deuteronomy MT and LXX”, *Tempel, Lehrhaus, Synagoge*. Orte jüdischen Lernens und Lebens — Festschrift für Wolfgang Kraus (eds. C. EBERHART – M. KARRER – S. KREUZER – M. MEISER) (Paderborn – Leiden 2020) 181-192, here 187.

²⁷ Targum Onqelos, as well as the Peshitta and the Vulgate read a singular form. On Deut 34,6 in the Targum, see W.F. SMELIK, “The Lost Tomb of Moses Revisited: Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Deut 34.5-6”, *The Targums in the Light of Traditions of the Second Temple Period* (eds. T. LEGRAND – J. JOOSTEN) (JSJSup 167; Leiden – Boston, MA 2014) 141-172, here 145.

Thus, for example, the critical apparatus of the DJD-edition of 4QDeut¹ proposes ²⁸:

34:6 (3) וִיקָבֵר [וִיקָבֵר^{ms} וִיקָבֵר^{NF}] MasDeut¹ וִיקָבֵר^O וִיקָבֵר^B.

A similar text-critical apparatus can be found in the BHQ edition of Deuteronomy ²⁹:

6 וִיקָבֵר Smr MasDeut V S T^{OJ} | 3 pl 4QDeut¹ G T^{NF} (exeg) ³⁰.

Although, in general, Talmon's transcription of MasDeut is accurate ³¹, with regard to the first word of Deut 34,6, his transcription does not do justice to the manuscript. This is all the more important because it concerns a very crucial word within the final verses of the book of Deuteronomy, both from the perspective of its interpretation from a text-critical point of view, and even more because of the fact that 4QDeut¹ and LXX have a variant reading in comparison to MT.

Talmon's transcription of the remaining words of Deut 34,5-6 (fragments c and d, lines 6-8) is as follows ³²:

²⁸ DUNCAN, "4QDeut¹", 112; E. ULRICH, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*. Transcriptions and Textual Variants (VTSup 134; Leiden – Boston, MA 2010) 246. See also FINSTERBUSCH, "Identität", 359: "In v. 6 ist in Mas1c das erste Verb im Singular überliefert (וִיקָבֵר, »und er hat begraben«). In 4Q39 [= 4QDeut¹] hingegen ist erkennbar, dass dieses Verb im Plural steht (וִיקָבֵר)». See also M. ABEGG – P. FLINT – E. ULRICH, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*. The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time into English (New York 1999) 195, putting MasDeut on one line with MT and SamP (contra 4QDeut¹), LXX and some manuscripts of SamP.

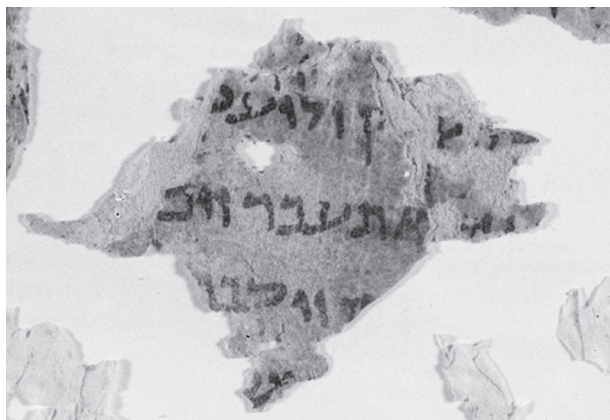
²⁹ MCCARTHY, *Deuteronomy*, 104.

³⁰ McCarthy even goes further than simply listing the variant readings. She evaluates the MT reading as more original, in characterising the 3rd person plural reading of 4QDeut¹ G T^{NF} as "exeg", i.e. "an initiative on the part of a witness to develop the meaning of the lemma" (MCCARTHY, *Deuteronomy*, XXII). She equally refers to the "midrashic expansion of T^J" that "clearly illustrates the tradition that it was none other than God who buried Moses" (MCCARTHY, *Deuteronomy*, 168*).

³¹ TALMON, "Fragments of a Deuteronomy Scroll", 155; Talmon, "Hebrew Fragments", 54. For pictures of fragments a, c, and d, see <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-299501>; for fragment b, see <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-299505> (access 06 April 2020).

The exact origin of this transcription of MasDeut is difficult to retrieve. Duncan's edition of 4QDeut¹ dates from 1995 (DUNCAN, "4QDeut¹", 112), whereas Talmon's critical edition of MasDeut only dates from 1998 (TALMON, "Fragments of a Deuteronomy Scroll", 155).

³² Compare, moreover, to TALMON, "Hebrew Fragments", 56, where Talmon's placement of the bracket in line 7 makes a plural reading impossible: וִיקָבֵר [אֲתוּ בָנָי]. The underlined letters in line 6 are part of fragment d; all the rest belongs to fragment c.



וְשֵׁם[ה] לֹא תַעֲבֹד וַיִּמַּת שֵׁם	6
יְהוָה וַיִּקְבֹּר[ן]	7
אִישׁ[ן]	8

In particular the transcript of line 7 is not completely correct, as the picture ³³ of MasDeut (fragment c) makes clear ³⁴.

On the basis of the manuscript evidence, it is impossible to determine which verbal form MasDeut has read. Both וַיִּקְבֹּר (singular) and וַיִּקְבְּרוּ (plural) are theoretically possible. From a text-critical perspective, having two possible readings, a singular or a plural, is not unimportant, especially as this has implications for the interpretation of the contents of Deut 34,6.

This conclusion is not contradicted by Talmon's calculations with regard to the length of the lines of MasDeut. According to Talmon, a line in MasDeut holds an average of thirty-three letters and seven inter-word spaces (the largest line in the reconstructed scroll contains thirty-seven letters and eight inter-word spaces) ³⁵. The reconstructed line that contains the word וַיִּקְבֹּר/וַיִּקְבְּרוּ contains thirty-four letters (without ו) or thirty-five letters (with ו) and nine inter-word spaces. Hence, quantitatively both readings are possible.

³³ Courtesy of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority; photo: Magen Broshi.

³⁴ Contrary to what Talmon's transcription suggests, the final letter (ר) of the verb וַיִּקְבֹּר is only partially preserved. A correct transcription of this word, in accordance with Talmon's "technical convention" of transcribing partially preserved letters, therefore, should be וַיִּקְבֹּרְן, thus putting a dot above the ר. See TALMON, "Hebrew Fragments", 11: " – Partially preserved letter", in distinction to a *circellus* that indicates that only "traces of a letter" are preserved.

³⁵ TALMON, "Hebrew Fragments", 57.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The implications of the above analysis of Deut 34,6 in MasDeut are threefold:

- (1) Firstly, the remains of the manuscript do not allow us to draw a conclusion with regard to the number of the verb. Because the parchment is ripped off in the middle of the letter ר, both ויקבר and ויקברו — the last one being the reading of 4QDeut¹ and (of the *Vorlage*) of LXX — are possible in MasDeut.
- (2) Although this observation seems to be a minor detail, its implications for the textual criticism of Deut 34,6 are significant: MasDeut can no longer irrefutably be used to support the reading of MT. The reading of MasDeut is indefinite: it is impossible to determine whether MasDeut has read a singular (ויקבר) or a plural (ויקברו) form. As a result, the text-critical apparatus of the critical editions of the BHQ and of the Qumran Deuteronomy fragment for Deut 34,6 should be adjusted. From a text-critical perspective, this is all the more important because there are indeed some very important textual witnesses (4QDeut¹ and LXX) that read a plural verbal form.
- (3) At least with regard to MasDeut, the generally accepted view that the text of the Masada manuscripts is “identical with MT”³⁶ should also be challenged³⁷. Already Tov has been pointing in that direction, albeit by focusing on “the” MT, which he considers to be an illusion³⁸.

The indefinite reading of Deut 34,6 in MasDeut also undermines Talmon’s conclusions as to this presumed textual identity between MasDeut and MT, arguing that “the Masada biblical fragments give witness to the existence of a stabilized proto-masoretic textual tradition which had taken root in ‘normative Judaism’ of the time”, and that “at the latest in the first century CE, this text was recognized as the exclusively legitimate version of the biblical books, the definitive *textus receptus*”³⁹. Due to the fact that, on the basis of Deut 34,6 in MasDeut, one can no longer claim the identity between MasDeut and MT, Deut 34,6 (MasDeut) becomes

³⁶ TALMON, “Fragments”, 156.

³⁷ Moreover, also with regard to the defective reading of שפני in Deut 33,19, a reading that MasDeut shares with 4QDeut^h (J.A. DUNCAN, “4QDeut^h”, *Qumran Cave 4. IX. Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* [eds. E. ULRICH *et al.*] [DJD 14; Oxford 1995] 61-70, here 68), the relationship between MasDeut and Qumran seems to be closer than Talmon suggests.

³⁸ Cf. *supra* n. 14.

³⁹ TALMON, “Hebrew Fragments from Masada”, 25.

irrelevant as an argument in favour of a stabilized proto-MT in Masada, not the least because it does concern “an instance in which an ancient version exhibits a variant reading”⁴⁰.

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SUMMARY

In his publication of MasDeut, Shemaryahu Talmon argues that the text that is transmitted in this manuscript is identical to the Masoretic Text. The present contribution, in particular focusing on Deut 34,6, argues that this view should be nuanced. A close look at fragment c of MasDeut reveals that a cautionary footnote should be added to the transcription of the first word of Deut 34,6 (ויקבר), which may in turn have some consequences for the text-critical apparatus of the textual editions of Deuteronomy, as well as for the text-critical evaluation of the variant reading of this verse.

⁴⁰ TALMON, “Hebrew Fragments from Masada”, 25. Talmon’s view has been followed by some scholars such as SCHIFFMAN, “Masada and its Scrolls”, who states that “because the general character of these texts is almost identical to the Masoretic text — the Tanach used today — we can conclude that this text had essentially become the only recognized biblical text by the period of the revolt”. It has been criticised, however, by others such as YOUNG, “Stabilization”, 368, who suggests that “the Masada finds do not give us an ‘uncontaminated’ sample of the ‘normative’ Bible text”. See also E. ULRICH, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible* (VTSup 169; Leiden – Boston, MA 2015) 251, who argues “that there was no ‘stabilization’ of the text but rather a ‘freezing of the development’ of the text”.

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RECENSIONES

Vetus Testamentum

Steven L. McKENZIE, *1 Kings 16 – 2 Kings 16* (International Exegetical Commentary on the Old Testament). Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 2019. vii-566 p. 18 × 24.5. €109,00

Four major commentaries on the Books of Kings have appeared in recent years from A. Knauf (two volumes in German, HThKAT), W. Thiel (German, BKAT), M. Cogan (Hebrew), and K. Bodner (English, Old Testament Theology). Despite the crowded field, S.M.'s commentary makes valuable contributions.

The commentary follows the IECOT format. The introduction briefly and clearly outlines the premises of his work. After the translation, S.M. provides textual notes, both synchronic and diachronic analyses and a final synthesis.

The novelty of this commentary lies in the translation and the textual notes. S.M. is the first commentator to take textual criticism seriously. His translation is not a simple translation of the MT but it reflects the textual choices that according to him reflect the text that preceded the MT. He explains his textual choices in the notes, focusing specifically on G^{B, L} and OL (Old Latin). In comparison with the only similar textual analysis done by J.A. Montgomery in 1951 (ICC), S.M.'s commentary represents a significant advance because he takes into consideration the most recent studies on the complex textual problems of the LXX, in particular, those advanced by J.C. Trebolle Barrera, P. Torijano Morales, M. Richelle, and E. Tov, among others.

Because this is a striking departure from conventional translations, he says that "all text-critical decisions in this commentary are made with humility and trepidation" (23). The verses in which S.M. departs from the MT and follows the OG are found in almost every chapter. The author's erudition shines in solving riddles that were by and large overlooked by most commentators such as the death of Elijah in 2 Kings 13. The translation and the textual notes are novel and set new standards for scholarly research on the Books of Kings. From now on, it will not be possible to ignore the Greek texts and the Old Latin. These textual notes also include some philological discussion. While S.M. discusses many Hebrew forms in detail, he does not treat the grammatical problems of the Greek texts to the same extent. The notes on the text also give some background about archaeology, geography, comparative materials, and the like. Due to the author's concentration on the text, the reader will not find extensive discussions on the meaning, occurrences, and other dimensions of the material. For this information, as well as the *status quaestionis*, the reader should consult the commentaries of W. Thiel, M. Cogan, or A. Knauf.

The next most important part of the commentary is the diachronic analysis that is reproduced graphically in the translation. S.M. distinguishes seven layers of

the text, out of which three are the distinguished strata within the original text and the other four are from later editions: (1) DtrH's sources; (2) DtrH plus glosses and additions (other than PN) to DtrH, plus glosses and additions to secondary material; (3) Prophetic Narrator (PN) plus glosses and additions to PN, together with glosses and additions to secondary material. S.M. argues that the oldest layer of 1–2 Kings is identifiable through the "source notices" that connect the regnal formula to similar records in the Ancient Near East, such as king lists. According to S.M. the king lists were independent and the integrated king list was a later compilation. The death and burial notices seem to be DtrH's invention because they include evaluations of the character and accomplishment of the kings. The oldest layer also includes some brief notices such as those about Zimri and Tibni that may have come from inscriptions or oral traditions.

By DtrH(history/istorian) S.M. understands the author or editor that corresponds to Noth's Deuteronomist. S.M. did not find compelling evidence of subsequent Dtr editors in the central section of Kings, as most German and American scholars have proposed. If the integrated list of the kings came from the time of Josiah, then the DtrH would date to the time of the exile. "DtrH worked the integrated king list into a theological explanation (etiology) of the history of Israel and Judah that was particularly interested, especially in 1 Kings 16 – 2 Kings 16, in accounting for Israel's fall and Judah's survival. This was accomplished by means of two sets of related themes", namely the sin of Jeroboam and the prophetic assurance that David's dynasty would survive the fall of the northern royal houses (27).

S.M. argues that that the Prophetic Narrator (PN) represents a distinct layer in the tradition. S.M. dates PN to the Persian period and shows that PN's theological outlook can be especially noticed in 1 Kings 18 and 2 Kings 5, which resonate with the monotheism of Second Isaiah. S.M. concentrates on the Elijah and Elisha cycles that contain the largest sections of PN. He accepts A. Rofé's proposal of the *legenda* with two qualifications: that the more elaborate *legenda* should be ascribed to the Prophetic Narrator and that the shorter *legenda* should not be necessarily linked to Elisha. According to him, some of the *legendae* may have developed shortly after the life of the prophet while others arose much later. S.M. argued that the Elijah-Elisha stories are distinct from the DtrH and concludes that they were added after the DtrH redaction took place. Elisha *legenda* "had been gathered into a collection from which the Elijah stories were adapted" (36). The PN began with Elisha *legenda*: "He also composed the Elijah stories in 1 Kings as an introduction to the Elisha *legenda* and as the model of a judgment. He made use of sources (stories about Elijah and Elisha *legendae*) to fashion his account of Elijah. He made frequent use of *Wiederaufnahme* as an editorial device for interpolating prophetic material. He also used order-compliance motif. He used the stories [...] as a forum for presenting the prophetic word as a source of the divine power and revelation. [...] PN shifted three stories of Israel's victories over Aram from the end of 2 Kings 13 to 1 Kings 20; 22:1-38 [...] so that Ahab did not personally escape judgment as he had in DtrH. PN also added the Naboth story [...] He portrayed Jezebel as the main culprit and inserted v. 23 into Elijah's oracle so that her grisly end [...] was also a fulfilment of Yhwh's word of judgment" (44-45). In sum, contrary to A. Knauf who introduced a new system for DtrH, S.M. has retrieved the classical DtrH vocabulary but combined it with Spanish,

American, German, and Israeli schools. S.M.'s most audacious opinion is that the introductory regnal formulas belong to the original sources of the DtrH.

Several discussions on historical and archaeological issues are found in the diachronic notes. Since this was not a priority of the commentary, the reader will find more extensive historical discussion with a larger amount of extrabiblical and archaeological material in the commentaries of A. Knauf and M. Cogan.

The synchronic analysis deals with the structure of the text, intertextual links, narrative analysis, rhetorical figures, and other literary elements. For a more complete analysis of intertextual links the reader should consult K. Bodner's commentary. The major shortcoming of this section is the fact that S.M.'s reconstruction of the original text is not reflected in the synchronic analysis, since that analysis is largely based on the MT. The commentary follows the MT, as K. Bodner does, even in those cases in which S.M. argued that the MT was not the best reading or the oldest version of the text. So, for example, S.M. chooses "fearful" in 19,3 on the basis of other texts instead of "he saw" as in the MT; our evaluation of Elijah may change significantly if his going to Beersheba was motivated by fear rather than by a vision. The intertextual links presented in S.M.'s commentary are also based on the MT despite the fact that the reconstructed text he used for his translation differs from the MT. The revised text creates a different set of intertextual links from those found in the MT, adding some and eliminating others. In 1 Kgs 19,5, reading "someone" following the Old Greek instead of "angel" as in the MT creates different intertextual links. The presence of two angels and the act of leaving the servants behind links the MT of 1 Kings 19 and Genesis 22, but these links are less evident in the Greek text. The challenge posed by working with the Greek manuscripts and the Old Latin can be even more radically seen from the viewpoint of the larger narrative. The story is very different if 1 Kings 21 is attached to 1 Kings 19, as in the LXX, or instead follows the account of the first Aramean wars in 1 Kings 20. The synchronic interpretation is substantially changed if the death of Elijah is inserted in 2 Kings 10 rather than in 2 Kings 13, or if the story of Jehoshaphat takes place after Ahab's death (MT: 1 Kgs 22,41-51) or after Omri's narrative as in the G^L or in both as in G^B. The discrepancy between the translation and the commentary is probably due to the IECOT format, but it shows the need for a different approach to the commentaries on the Books of Kings. The classical model of commentary in which the synchronic analysis is limited exclusively to the MT needs to be confronted by commentaries that take seriously the text-critical issues, especially in those passages in which the Old Greek and Old Latin offer a better reading.

The commentary of S.M. is an excellent resource for scholars yet is sufficiently readable and helpful for a larger audience. It offers solid complex exegetical discussions, but it is not bound to one exegetical tradition. It remains a respectful continuation of DtrH studies, yet it innovatively combines scholarly traditions that seemed to be irreconcilable. For anyone who wants to study the Books of Kings, S.M. is not optional but essential.

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Benjamin M. AUSTIN, *Plant Metaphors in the Old Greek of Isaiah* (Septuagint and Cognate Studies 69). Atlanta, GA, SBL Press, 2019. xiv-407 p. 15 × 23. \$53,95

This work is a monograph mainly devoted to the study of metaphors related to botanical language in the LXX of Isaiah. Plant metaphors are commonly used to describe human relationships both in biblical and Greek literature, and so they constitute an interesting subject of research. The goal of Austin's study is to gain better knowledge of the translation technique of the Septuagint of Isaiah, and the volume is a witness to the increasing degree of specialization in the modern study of translation techniques evidenced in the LXX. General descriptions of translation techniques simply as "literal" or "free" are giving way in recent scholarship to a much more detailed approach regarding both syntactic and lexical elements, providing deeper insights.

In the book's extensive introduction, Austin summarizes the research on metaphors in the Septuagint in general and in the book of Isaiah in particular. The author describes the strategies by which metaphors are translated and shows how the discussion of metaphors in the LXX started with generic considerations, mostly concerning language referring to God, such as anthropomorphisms. He also briefly presents the contemporary debate regarding metaphors in other fields, such as linguistics, philosophy, and psychology. Ancient views on metaphors are commented upon after the contemporary views, though the latter presuppose and sometimes react against the former. Aristotle's definition is discussed at length, but the works of other ancient writers, like Demetrius, are also mentioned. Austin observes that in the Hellenistic period many works treating metaphors were in circulation, and he goes on to affirm that the translator of Isaiah might have been exposed to Greek rhetoric during his education. In support of this hypothesis, Austin presents the scholarly environment of Alexandria with its museum and library, and shows that many Jews in the second century BCE had access to Hellenistic education. The author discusses the scribal culture in Jewish circles of the time and expresses his disagreement with the interlinear paradigm concerning the Greek translation, for the evidence suggests that the LXX was functioning as a text in its own right from the beginning, i.e., independent from its parent text. Austin is convinced by both the historical data and internal evidence found in LXX-Isaiah that its translator received a solid Greek education; he was not an amateur as once depicted by earlier scholars.

Among the laudable qualities of the introduction is the fact that it includes an abundant and updated bibliography, especially the literature concerning LXX-Isaiah. The topics treated therein are relevant, though it must be said that the author presents several points regarding the research on metaphors before discussing the definition of metaphor. The author's definitions of figures of speech are not provided until pp. 66-67, and the definitions of allegory and parable are given much later on p. 262. In consequence, the distinction between metaphor and other figures of speech is not clear from the start. This lack of clarity is especially noticeable because similes and metonymy often creep into the discussion. In fact, despite the author's focus on metaphors, sometimes examples of similes and metonymy are also included, and general conclusions about similes are presented in the end of the volume as well.

It is assumed throughout the monograph that a single translator worked on the whole book of Isaiah, adopting the same translation techniques throughout. Because the main goal set for the volume is to enhance our knowledge of the translation technique of LXX-Isaiah, the reader would have benefitted from a brief section in the introduction treating not only the strategies concerning metaphors in LXX-Isaiah but also the book's translation technique in general, instead of the sporadic references scattered through the volume (e.g. 44-45, 334, 339).

Another topic lacking in the introduction is the discussion of what the Septuagint of Isaiah is, namely the situation of the Greek text. Throughout the book it is assumed that the OG of Isaiah is virtually identical to Ziegler's edition of LXX-Isaiah for the Göttingen series without further qualification, though Ziegler's edition is compared to Rahlfs' edition when they differ. A treatment of the situation of the Greek text and its translation technique, as noted in the previous paragraph, would have been helpful for evaluating the relationship between the translation and its *Vorlage*, and for understanding why only in a handful of cases a different *Vorlage* for LXX-Isaiah is hypothesized in the monograph.

An analysis of plant metaphors is executed in two chapters, the first one devoted to distinct parts of plants, and the second one to various kinds of plants. For each verse treated, Austin gives the Hebrew and the Greek texts followed by an English translation, from NRSV and NETS, respectively, which is a very user-friendly feature of the book. The first part treats the metaphors "seed" for offspring, family/people or individual; "fruit" for produce, offspring or the result of actions; "root" for family, permanence/firmness; "flower" for frailty; "leaves" for human helplessness; and finally "sprouts and branches", metaphors often removed by the translator.

In the second part it is explained that some metaphors related to kinds of plants in Isaiah might not be understood by readers from cultures living in environments that differ from that of the author. This chapter presents a discussion of the metaphorical meanings of various plant-related words: "reeds", used in a variety of ways and often related to the presence of water; "grass", in reference to something that flourishes or withers quickly; "grain" or the various "parts of grain" (ear, stalk, chaff) also used in a variety of ways in different contexts; "thorns", related to abandoned/neglected places or used in reference to their flammability; "vineyards" and "vines" for Jerusalem; various "trees" — including thickets and woods — often used for people; and the one occurrence of a simile with "chard" related to the exhausted youth of Jerusalem.

A commendable aspect of the volume is that Austin not only discusses the treatment of each metaphor in LXX-Isaiah but also analyses the strategies applied by Targum Jonathan in dealing with the same metaphors. Therefore, although the monograph focuses on the Septuagint, it goes further and contributes to Targum studies as well. For each verse analyzed, Austin adds an English translation of the Targum in a footnote. The way the Targum treats metaphors is used as potential evidence for early Jewish exegesis, and the results obtained in this monograph might be fruitfully integrated in the future with broader studies on Jewish exegesis in Qumran literature, in the writings of Hellenistic Jews, or even in Mishnaic and Talmudic sources. Austin also situates the translation technique of metaphors in LXX-Isaiah within the development of early Jewish exegesis as expressed later in the Targum, pointing to similarities between them, such as the tendency to clarify the metaphor and its meaning.

Austin studies each occurrence of the metaphors in detail, thus avoiding erroneous generalizations. He is also attentive to the different geographic and cultural backgrounds of the Hebrew and Greek texts. Austin's study shows that sometimes the Greek translator does not reproduce the metaphor of the Hebrew text even when it is also common in Greek, such as the metaphor "fruit" for the result of actions. It is relatively common for the translator to transform a metaphor into a simile. Curiously, this often coincides with places where the Targum interprets the metaphor instead of translating it literally. Sometimes the metaphor is even adapted to fit better with the technology known to the translator. This would include metaphors linked with the threshing of grain. Because the meaning of the metaphor might depend on the kind of plant mentioned, the translator is generally careful to distinguish, for example, the specific tree referred to in Hebrew.

Austin's analysis is full of references to Greek literature. The author is interested in seeing whether the same biblical metaphor can be found among Greek authors, and whether such metaphors have the same function in those writings. Metaphors that are also common in Greek do not posit a great challenge to the translator of Isaiah. These references to Greek literature enrich Austin's discussion, but a distinction between texts from the Classical and the Hellenistic periods is not made. This differentiation and attention to the diachronic element of the language would have improved Austin's analysis, adding precision.

In the conclusion of the monograph, Austin explains that the plant metaphors are often translated literally in LXX-Isaiah, even if the translator sometimes adapts the context to make clear how the metaphor should be understood. The metaphors are occasionally translated by means of other metaphors, and this for various reasons: a different word is understood by the translator; the metaphor is changed through a metonymic shift; the translator seeks a more conventional metaphor for his audience; the translator prefers a more vivid or dramatic metaphor. Sometimes the metaphor is eliminated, and its meaning is given instead. Furthermore, the translator not only translates the metaphors, but he also introduces new ones that were absent in the *Vorlage*. There are also cases where multiple metaphors are merged, and a case when a metaphor is simply omitted. Austin maintains that similes are used in place of metaphors only when the translator believes that a simile was actually meant in Hebrew or because a comparative marker was found in the *Vorlage*. The translator is both independent and thoughtful in rendering metaphors and, in every case, tries to render the text with attention to the immediate and remote contexts. Therefore, the methods of translating metaphors are better understood in connection with the contexts in which they occur. According to the author himself, it is not possible to draw general conclusions regarding the translation technique of metaphors in LXX-Isaiah, since the monograph focuses on plant metaphors only. In any case, Austin's study confirms Ziegler's general characterization of the translator of LXX-Isaiah as simultaneously free in interpreting figurative language and attentive in faithfully representing the *Vorlage*.

Austin suggests in the end that the translator's technique in dealing with metaphors conforms to the norms of good style articulated in works on rhetoric in antiquity, though he cautiously admits that it is also possible that this is simply the result of the translator's good sense.

In conclusion, the monograph is a positive contribution to the study of LXX-Isaiah. I recommend it to anyone interested in Septuagint studies, particularly the field of translation technique, and to those interested in rhetorical criticism.

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Hermann-Josef STIPP, *Jeremia 25–52* (Handbuch zum Alten Testament I/12,2). Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2019. ix-832 p. 18 × 24,5. €124,00.

Der von Stipp vorgelegte zweite Band seines Jeremiakommentars ist ein monumentales Werk. Ja, man darf ihn mit Fug und Recht als (ersten Teil der) Summe seiner wissenschaftlichen Forschung beschreiben, hat doch Stipp seit seiner Dissertation sich intensiv mit dem Jeremiabuch beschäftigt und in zahlreichen Studien dessen Texte analysiert, kommentiert und ausgelegt. In Stipps Arbeiten liegt ein besonderer Schwerpunkt auf dem Vergleich der hebräischen und griechischen Fassungen des Buches, die er genau untersucht und mit Hilfe von sprachgeschichtlichen Beobachtungen ausgewertet hat. Gleichzeitig hat Stipp auch große Anstrengungen darauf verwendet, die Texte des Jeremiabuchs vor dem Hintergrund der Parteienstreitigkeiten im antiken Juda des ausgehenden 7. und 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zu interpretieren, um so die von ihm rekonstruierten realgeschichtlichen intellektuellen Gesprächskontexte in die Auslegung des Buches miteinzubeziehen.

Der auffällige Umstand, dass von Stipps Kommentierung des Jeremiabuchs zunächst der zweite Band erscheint, während der erste noch auf sich warten lässt, wird damit begründet, dass die Einleitung zum Kommentar ihren Ort zu Beginn des ersten Bandes haben müsse, aber naturgemäß erst am Schluss der Kommentierung geschrieben werden könne, wenn die Theoriebildung des Kommentators abgeschlossen sei. Man ist jedenfalls bereits jetzt auf diesen ersten Band samt seiner Gesamteinleitung zum Kommentar gespannt. Der vorgelegte zweite Band des Kommentars ist jetzt schon ein unverzichtbarer Begleiter jeglicher künftiger Beschäftigung mit dem zweiten Teil des Jeremiabuchs.

Stipps Zugang zum Jeremiabuch zeichnet sich durch folgende Charakteristika und Entscheidungen aus: Zunächst einmal ist Stipp mit guten Gründen und auch im Einklang mit einem mittlerweile breiten Konsens der Forschung, den er mitteilt, der Auffassung, dass die griechische Version, die er den «alexandrini-schen Text» nennt (JerAIT), generell eine weniger weit entwickelte Texttradition des Jeremiabuchs widerspiegelt als die hebräische Fassung, repräsentiert durch den masoretischen Text (JerMT): «Der Vergleich von JerAIT mit JerMT ergibt nun, dass JerAIT gegenüber JerMT eine Art der Priorität innehat, die sich als <global> oder auch <generell> beschreiben lässt. Das soll heißen: Der alexandrinische Texttyp verkörpert eine insgesamt ältere Wachstumsstufe des Buches, die aber JerMT nicht in direkter Linie vorausliegt, sondern nach der Gabelung der Texttradition in zwei Arme noch ein geringes Maß an Eigenentwicklung durchlaufen hat, teilweise auch in Form versehentlicher Textverluste (Parablepsen bzw. Augensprünge)» (4). Entsprechend erfolgt die Kommentierung von Jeremia 25–52

durchgehend mit genauer Aufmerksamkeit auf die Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede der Versionen. Die Priorität von JerAIT gilt dabei nicht nur für den Textumfang, sondern auch für die Textanordnung. Dies betrifft vor allem die Stellung der Fremdvölkersprüche in Jeremia 46–51 (15), die im hebräischen Jeremiabuch am Ende, im griechischen hingegen in der Mitte stehen, aber auch die Reihenfolge der Völker in der Becherperikope in Jeremia 25 (11).

Was die Rekonstruktion der literarischen Genese von Jeremia 25–52 betrifft, so erkennt Stipp authentische Jeremia Worte in der heilsprophetischen Sammlung *30,4 – 31,22.26 (209) sowie in den Fremdvölkerorakeln *46,1 – 49,33 (633), jeweils abzüglich redaktioneller Zutaten. In Jeremia 27–29 finden sich zwei nun zusammengefügte Falschprophetenkompositionen, die im Kern auf eine wohl aus der Zidkija-Zeit stammende Darstellung eines Konflikts zwischen Jeremia und Hananja (Jeremia *28) sowie den Brief Jeremias an die Exulantschaft in Babel (Jeremia *29) zurückgehen. Es wurde schon lange gesehen, dass Jeremia 27–29 Auffälligkeiten besitzt, die diesen Komplex vom weiteren Buch absetzen – der Name Jeremia wird als «Jirm^eja» statt «Jirm^ejahu» wiedergegeben, der König Jehojachin heißt «Jekonja» und der Name «Nebukadnezzar» herrscht hier gegenüber dem sonst im Buch üblichen – und etymologisch korrekteren – «Nebukadrezzar» vor. Zog man daraus früher den Rückschluss einer separaten Tradierung dieser Kapitel außerhalb des Buches, so ist Stipp vorsichtiger und verweist auf den Umstand, dass diese Besonderheiten zum Teil auch in sehr jungen Textanteilen auftreten. Gleichwohl hält er den Grundbestand von Jeremia *27–28 für eine der ältesten Sammlungen im zweiten Buchteil. Jeremia 36 ist ein komplexes Kapitel, dem nach Stipp ein zeitgenössischer, aber im Einzelnen nicht mehr rekonstruierbarer Fremdb Bericht zugrunde liegt, der in der Folge mehrfach fortgeschrieben worden ist (426). Im Bereich Jeremia *37–44 rechnet Stipp mit einer zusammenhängenden «Erzählung vom Untergang des palästinischen Judäertums», die die Interessen der babylonischen Exulantschaft vertritt, in dem sie zum einen vom Verschwinden der Judäer aus Juda und vom bevorstehenden Untergang der nach Ägypten Emigrierten erzählt, so dass nur noch die babylonische Gola übrig bleibt, und zum anderen zur Kooperation mit der Fremdherrschaft aufruft, was den Bestand der nach Babylon Deportierten sichern soll (472). Eine ältere, kleine Erzählung, die Stipp die «Apologie Jeremias» nennt (473) und die ungefähr in Jer 34,7; 37,3.6.9–10; 38,1.3–17.21–23.28ab; 39,3.14* zu finden ist, sowie das sogenannte «Jischmael-Dossier» (40,13–14; *41,1–15), das über den Mord an Gedalja berichtet, sind gemäß Stipp mit dieser «Erzählung vom Untergang des palästinischen Judäertums» verbunden worden.

Diese bildete ein Kernstück des «babylonischen» Jeremiabuchs, das von der deuteronomistischen Redaktion von Jeremia 25–52, die noch vor 550 v. Chr. im babylonischen Exil wirkte, geschaffen wurde (474) und die auch für den Grundbestand von Jer *26 verantwortlich ist (87). Stipp unterscheidet unter den deuteronomistischen Einträgen im Jeremiabuch, die «konzeptionell und nach ihrem Ursprungsdatum ... breit gefächert» sind, grundsätzlich zwei Gruppen. Während die früheren deuteronomistischen Deutetexte im ersten Buchteil (Jeremia 1–24) eher auf eine Entstehung in Juda hinweisen (17), führt er diejenigen im zweiten Buchteil auf die babylonische Gola zurück (18). «Wie bei den beiden dtr Schichten trotz ihrer Unterschiede die Gemeinsamkeiten überwiegen, ist die Spekulation reizvoll, aber natürlich nicht entscheidbar, ob sich dahinter derselbe

Autor verbirgt, der zwischenzeitlich deportiert worden war» (19). Hinzu kommen in Jeremia 26–45 die Einträge einer «patrizischen Redaktion» (474), die aus der Zeit der Planung und des Baus des Zweiten Tempels stammen, sowie die individuellen Heilsorakel an Ebed-Melech (Jer 39,15-18) und Baruch (Jeremia 45).

Die Redaktionsgeschichte des Jeremiabuchs setzte sich bis in die hellenistische Zeit fort, allerdings ohne weitere wichtige inhaltliche Akzente im Buch zu setzen: «Das Buchwachstum verebbte allem Anschein nach im späten 3. oder frühen 2. Jahrhundert, als zuletzt wenige, aber jedenfalls mehrere prämasoretische Tradenten ihre Retuschen anbrachten. Redaktoren im geläufigen Sinn kann man diese Schreiber kaum mehr nennen, da sie zwar nicht weniger als ein rundes Siebteil zum Volumen des Endtextes beisteuerten, aber vor allem, indem sie ohnehin buchtypisches floskel- und formelhaftes Material vermehrten und Dubletten erzeugten» (25).

Besondere Hervorhebung in Stipps Kommentar verdienen die Exkurse zu «Die Lebensverhältnisse der jüdischen Exulanten» (197-205), zu «Kinderopfer, Moloch und Tofet» (324-353) sowie zu «Jer 36, die Geschichte des Jeremiabuchs und der Schriftprophetie» (461-468). Im Rahmen der Kommentierung von Jeremia 37–45 erleichtern drei zusammenfassende Rückblicke das Verständnis der gebotenen Analysen.

Es steht außer Frage, dass Stipps Kommentar in seiner Gelehrsamkeit und Genauigkeit einen Meilenstein der Jeremiaforschung darstellt, der den Exegetinnen und Exegeten des Buches einen großen Dienst erweisen wird, auch wenn sie mit Stipps Urteilen nicht immer einverstanden sind. So wird seine Auslegung zu Jeremia 36 als – nur als Torso erhaltener – ungefähr zeitgenössischer Text wohl strittig bleiben, ebenso seine Zuweisung der ältesten Texte aus Jeremia *30–31 an den historischen Jeremia, sowie seine Interpretation der gola- und diasporaorientierten Texte in Jeremia 37–44 im Rahmen der von ihm postulierten «Erzählung vom Untergang des palästinischen Judäertums» und der deuteronomistischen Redaktion mit entsprechenden Datierungen bereits in das Zeitalter des babylonischen Exils. Auch seine Tendenz der Annahme einer vergleichsweise frühen Gestaltwerdung von Jeremia 25–52 bei gleichzeitig geringem Zutrauen zu perserzeitlichen und hellenistischen Formierungsprozessen des Buches wird nicht auf ungeteilte Zustimmung stoßen. Ein grundsätzliches, der Gattung Kommentar geschuldetes Merkmal des Bandes besteht schließlich darin, dass er seine Hypothesen in der Regel resultativ präsentiert, also nicht immer im Einzelnen begründet und auch nicht gegen abweichende forschungsgeschichtliche Positionen verteidigt. Eine der wenigen Ausnahmen findet sich etwa in Stipps wenig überzeugender Ablehnung der Aufnahme von Jer 29,10 in Jer 33,14-16 unter entsprechender Neuinterpretation von Jer 23,7-8 (366-367). Für diese Begründungen und Auseinandersetzungen ist man auf Stipps zahlreiche Publikationen zum Jeremiabuch außerhalb dieses Kommentars angewiesen, einige davon sind gesammelt in ders., *Studien zum Jeremiabuch. Text und Redaktion* (FAT 96; Tübingen 2015).

Jennifer L. ANDRUSKA, *Wise and Foolish Love in the Song of Songs* (Oud-testamentische Studiën 75). Leiden, Brill, 2019. xiii-219 p. 16.6 × 24. €104,00.

This Cambridge doctoral thesis — written under the supervision of Katharine J. Dell — joins the growing chorus of exegetical works that situate Song of Songs (Cant), the Bible's only extended love poem, firmly in the sapiential tradition. In contrast to other studies, which tend to use the apparent wisdom connection of Song of Songs to argue for an original allegorical meaning of the text, Andruska (A.) maintains throughout her study “that the Song is the literal depiction of love between two human lovers” (4). Since, according to Prov 30,18-20, love is among the four things that are beyond human understanding, she defines Song of Songs as an attempt to give insight into such mystery and to explain love. Instead of pitting Song of Songs' unfettered celebration of love against the ideal of wisdom, she argues that “the influence of the wisdom genre on the Song was actually pervasive, running throughout the book” (11). In doing so she frees herself from the obligation to pin down where, exactly, sapiential influences are to be found, and how they emerged in a diachronic way. Instead of looking for wisdom features as the result of specific parallels with the sapiential works in the Hebrew Bible, A. prefers to look for typical forms and conventions found in advice literature from the Ancient Near East. Such a broadening of the definition of “didactic” or “advice” literature allows her to maintain that Song of Songs, while never ceasing to be love poetry, is no longer just that, but also a treatise of “wisdom concerning romantic love” (14). In other words, it is the wisdom of Song of Songs to propagate a “wise love”.

This is an intriguing proposal that calls for a certain fluidity of genre and — in turn — is in danger of becoming arbitrary. To avoid such pitfalls, A., after outlining the current discussion, devotes a chapter to methodological issues. She sides with those scholars who regard Song of Songs as a unity, while remaining “agnostic” about the date and authorship of the poem. Additionally, she regards Egyptian love songs as the closest parallels, since in these instances “the topic of concern is also human sexual love” (15). Inner-biblical allusions — especially to Proverbs 7 — are also discussed. A. argues that Proverbs 7 deliberately takes up Song of Songs and integrates its wisdom within a new admonition. This reviewer disagrees and wonders why the teaching of Song of Songs is so deliberately distorted. This, of course, touches the social context in which different biblical books should be situated, an aspect A. touches upon only marginally. Another issue one misses in the chapter on methodology is a working definition of what A. means when speaking about “romantic love” and “didactic”. The first term triggers cultural notions from the eighteenth and nineteenth century, while the second one remains imprecise, at least until chapter six when it is more clearly defined; until then the reader is left to his or her own devices.

To investigate what the teaching and wisdom of Song of Songs entails, A. looks in detail at the three refrains (Cant 2,7; 3,5; 8,4) and the *marshal* in Cant 8,6-7. The refrains are especially important for her description of Song of Songs as a didactic poem, which A. understands as a form of transgenerational teaching that is handed down to the daughters of Jerusalem (later in the book, A. describes the woman of Song of Songs as “the foremost authority on love, for as the book

displays throughout, she has lived her love life successfully and found true love” [114], letting the reader wonder whether she is now thought of as an “old woman” and how this relates to other statements). Though one can debate whether the translation A. offers (“Promise me, women of Jerusalem [...] Do not arouse or awaken love until it desires”) is ideal, the absence of any discussion of Cant 5,8-9 is curious since much of the same language is used in an entirely different context. Within A.’s parameters these refrains are a didactic tool to warn against a love that differs from the one that is propagated in the book. “The Song of Songs presents a picture of what love is meant to look like: it is mutual, peaceful, equal, proactive, devoted, desirous, sexual, exclusive, committed, and timeless. The book compels the audience to pursue this type of love in their own life, and the ‘do not awaken’ refrains warn them against awakening love before this type of love, the love displayed in the Song, is present” (78). Cant 8,6-7, in turn, is then the reason why the refrains warn against a premature arousal of love. A. regards the passage as the climax of the book (but why, one wonders, does it continue afterwards, ending on a note of separation?) and its *raison d’être*.

In Proverbs 7, A. finds an example of a love that masquerades as the genuine love of Song of Songs. Within the context of Proverbs, however, one wonders whether this is really the intention as the scene seems to imply a daily occurrence. If the readers of Proverbs understand the chapter in the context of Greek *symposia*, the message would be received differently. Additionally the fusing of ideas from Deuteronomy and other texts in Proverbs (especially Prov 1,1-8 and Proverbs 5 and 6) makes the chapter much more didactic than Song of Songs ever is, prompting the question of why the poem needs to be supplemented. A. herself seems to give the answer when she states that Song of Songs “provides the audience with a vicarious escape through erotic fantasy” (158).

To further explore wisdom features in the Song of Songs, A. uses a familiar list compiled by G. von Rad (*Weisheit in Israel* [Neukirchen-Vluyn 2013] 36-53) to highlight that the author has combined elements of love poetry and wisdom genres in order to communicate about love. I find this chapter very useful as it opens up new avenues to look at the textual evidence; it is precisely this blending of forms that makes the poem unique and elusive at the same time.

Since the didactic nature of Song of Songs has been the thread running through A.’s study from the beginning, the last chapter offers a more detailed exploration of this topic. She defines “didactic” as follows: “Instruction was a vehicle for its primary goal, which was the *transformation of character*, and it is in this full sense that we mean *didactic*” (145). Due to such a definition, A. is able to fuse the biblical characters with the modern reader insofar as the character formation she detects in the poem serves as an invitation to participate in a particular type of love relationship. If we are meant “to identify with the lovers, to put on their disguise, to yearn to be them so that we emulate and become them” (159), then the sapiential instruction of Song of Songs would transcend its biblical and cultural context and — in a way — confirm Y.S. Agnon’s literary imagination that much of the surprises inherent in the Song were already there when the book was composed. Such a fusion, however fascinating it might be, nevertheless is difficult to translate into social actions and norms. A. leaves no doubt that the love presented in the Song of Songs is virtuous since the “lovers are virtuous characters in love” (171), and it may be that the poem encourages the reader to acquire prudence. But this does not really address the problem that Song of Songs deliberately

seems to subvert societal norms, and that readers schooled in the didactic concept of Proverbs may find it difficult to reconcile their wisdom with the one promoted in the Song of Songs. It is this question that A. never really addresses. If the wisdom of Song of Songs really derives from “typical forms, themes and conventions found in the broader ANE advice literature” (178), then similar things must be true for other biblical wisdom literature as well, prompting the question of how to reconcile the two. This is a question that never arises when we separate the genre of love poetry from sapiential instruction. A. rightly states that romantic love can be one of “the most confusing enigmas in human life” (182), and maybe this is precisely what triggers the development of other genres of literature that allow us to come to terms with such an enigma in a world that constantly encroaches upon it.

The study wants to be a powerful statement about how to read Song of Songs as didactic literature, and it certainly succeeds in demonstrating that a sapiential reading of the poem does not necessarily have to lead to any form of allegorical interpretation or to an overly theological approach to this fascinating text. This reviewer, however, cannot shed the suspicion that the text itself actively resists such a classification as wisdom. The love evoked in Cant 5,1b (*dôdîm*), for example, seems to be of a different quality than the romantic love envisaged by A. (cf. Cant 4,10-11). I have no doubt that the debate will continue, but A. has certainly shown a way to address the topic without quickly introducing aspects of the reception history into the exegesis of Song of Songs.

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Novum Testamentum

Christine OEFELE, *Evangelienexegese als Partiturlesen*. Eine Interpretation von Mk 1,1–8,22a zwischen Komposition und Performanz (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe 490). Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2019. xiii-453 p. 15.5 × 23. €119,00

Das ‚Partiturlesen‘ im Titel fällt auf. Ich verstehe zu wenig vom professionellen Umgang mit Musik, um den Ausführungen der Autorin (A.) zur Vergleichbarkeit von Textwerk und Musikwerk folgen und ihre Anwendung des Umgangs mit Musik auf den Umgang mit Markus beurteilen zu können. Doch stelle ich fest, dass dieser Umgang zu einer großen Aufmerksamkeit für alle Einzelheiten des Textes führt; und eine möglichst genaue Kenntnis des Textes, seiner Eigenheiten und Beziehungen, ist sicher die beste Voraussetzung, um ihn zu verstehen und auszulegen.

Ein erstes Kapitel befasst sich mit den theoretischen Grundlagen der Studie. Es verortet diese im Forschungsgebiet ‚Evangelien und antike Oralität‘, vergleicht

das Markusevangelium mit musikalischen Kompositionen und erarbeitet ein hermeneutisches Modell, das die Exegese an der akustischen Textgestalt ausrichtet. Dabei geht es um ein wahrnehmendes, auslegendes und historisches Lesen des Textes. ‚Die Partitur‘, die gelesen wird, ist der griechische Text des Markusevangeliums, wie er in der 28. Ausgabe von Nestle-Aland geboten wird, ohne in Einzelfällen eine davon abweichende textkritische Entscheidung auszuschließen. Aus der Musikanalyse wird vor allem die Repetitionsanalyse, das genaue Wahrnehmen von Wiederholung, Variation und Neuheit übernommen. Einleitungsfragen, nach Autor und Empfängern, Ort und Zeit der Abfassung, werden kurz behandelt, auch weil sie für die Arbeit, die sich ganz auf den vorhandenen Text konzentriert, keine große Bedeutung haben.

Das zweite Kapitel gilt der Struktur des Markusevangeliums. Für den zweiten Teil von Markus folgt die A. den üblichen Einschnitten 8,27; 11,1; 14,1. Im ersten Teil sieht sie nach der Ouvertüre 1,1-15 die zwei Abschnitte „Am Meer von Galiläa“ (1,16 – 4,36a) und „Ringsherum und auf dem Meer von Galiläa“ (4,35 – 8,22a). Das dritte Kapitel „Kommentar zu Mk 1,1 – 4,36a“ umfasst mit 220 Seiten mehr als die Hälfte der ganzen Studie und stellt ihren Hauptteil dar. Hier geschieht das ‚Partiturlesen‘ im eigentlichen Sinn für die Ouvertüre (1,1-15) und für die Vorgänge am Meer von Galiläa (1,16 – 4,36a). Charakteristisch für dieses Kapitel sind die Grafiken, in denen eine in alle Einzelheiten gehende ‚musikalische‘ Analyse der hörbaren Gestalt eines jeden Abschnitts des griechischen Textes möglichst sichtbar dargeboten wird, samt einer deutschen Übersetzung. Das Lesen dieser Grafiken verlangt viel Aufmerksamkeit, sie sind aber auch das, was die Arbeit am meisten charakterisiert und sie sind die Grundlage für eine genaue und sehr sorgfältige und verständnisvolle Exegese.

Das vierte Kapitel behandelt „Die Fortführung der großen Linien im zweiten Hauptteil (4,35 – 8,22a)“. Es bietet, in einem Schlussabschnitt von fast 40 Seiten zusammengefasst, die Grafiken und die deutsche Übersetzung, aber nicht mehr, in der Art des dritten Kapitels, eine ausführliche Exegese eines jeden Textes. Als die großen Linien gelten, zu Recht, die Themen „Wer ist dieser? Die Frage nach der Identität Jesu“ und „Wer gehört zu ihm? Die Frage nach den Nachfolgern und Nachfolgerinnen Jesu“. Die beiden Linien werden je für sich durch die Texte hindurch verfolgt. Die A. untersucht, intensiv und konsequent, mit großer Kompetenz und mit klaren und überzeugenden Ergebnissen, den vorliegenden Text, was er durch das Berichtete, durch seine intra- und extratextuellen Bezüge, durch seine Klanggestalt und seine kompositorischen Strukturen sagen will; von jeder Art einer Rekonstruktion des ‚historischen Jesus‘ wird abgesehen. Sie zeigt, dass bei Markus „in der Person Jesu die Identität Gottes erkennbar“ (332) wird. Von Jesus, den Markus von Anfang an als den Christus, den Herrn, den Sohn Gottes verkündet, ist zu erkennen und zu glauben, „dass in diesem Menschen Gott unter den Menschen gegenwärtig ist und bleibt und ihnen mehr als genug zum Leben bietet“ (335). Zu Jesus gehören seine Jünger, die trotz der Paradoxie zwischen ihrer Nähe zu Jesus und dem wachsenden Unverständnis für seine Person immer bei ihm bleiben und nicht „durch besseres Personal ausgewechselt werden“ (356). Für die Wertung ihres Unverständnisses ist nicht nur zu beachten, wie sie sich selber verhalten, sondern wie Jesus sich zu ihnen verhält; er als der Auferstandene beruft nicht neue Jünger, sondern lädt die bisherigen von neuem zur Nachfolge ein (14,28; 16,7). Ihr Unverständnis ist nicht moralistisch zu sehen, sondern ist ein Zeichen für das menschliche Unvermögen angesichts der Tiefe

des Geheimnisses der Person Jesu. Zu Jesus gehören auch nur einmal genannte Personen, die sich durch ihren Glauben an die Macht Jesu auszeichnen.

In zwei kurzen Schlusskapiteln geht es um die Pragmatik der Texte („Der Text als Antwort auf Fragen seiner Zeit“) und um die offene Vielseitigkeit von Text und Auslegung („Polyphonie – ein Resümee“). Eine ausführliche Bibliographie und ein Stellen- und Sachregister schließen die Arbeit ab.

Das Lesen des Textes als Partitur erschließt eine weitere Dimension des Umgangs mit ihm. Es achtet auf ihn nicht nur als Träger von Sinn, sondern auch als Klang und Komposition, versucht ihn zu erfassen nicht nur seiner Intellektualität, sondern auch seiner Körperlichkeit und Sinnhaftigkeit nach. Diese Art des Lesens schärft nicht nur den Geist, sondern auch das Ohr und das Auge und führt zu einem ganzheitlichen Wahrnehmen des Untersuchungsobjektes und seiner Mitteilung. Manchmal besteht die Gefahr, dass das Achten auf den gleichen Klang, das Wahrnehmen des verschiedenen Sinns zu kurz kommen lässt (z.B. *poiein*, 200,207).

Eine gewisse Begrenztheit der Arbeit kann man darin sehen, dass das ‚Partitur-lesen‘ nicht für die ganze ‚Partitur‘ des Markusevangeliums, sondern nur für ein Viertel des Textes (1,1 – 4,36a) geschieht. Das Studium dieses Viertels hat sicher exemplarischen Charakter und die Beschränkung hat gute Gründe (z.B. annehmbarer Umfang der Arbeit), kann aber auch als Inkonzonanz und Mangel empfunden werden. Die Partitur eines Musikstücks und auch eines Textes ist ein Ganzes und sollte möglichst auch als Ganzes in den Blick genommen werden.

Was Mk 3,13-19 angeht, stellt die A. fest: „Die dritte Berufungsgeschichte weicht stark von den beiden anderen ab“ (212), nämlich von 1,16-20 (eigentlich zwei Berufungsgeschichten) und 2,13. Man kann fragen, ob die Abweichungen nicht so stark sind, dass man nur mit einem gewissen Zwang 3,13-19 mit den drei anderen Erzählungen parallelisieren und als Berufungsgeschichte bezeichnen kann. So besteht die Gefahr, dass der besondere Charakter und die eigene Bedeutung von 3,13-19 verschwinden und nicht in den Blick kommen. *proskaleisthai* (3,13) klingt zwar an *kalein* (1,20) an, ist aber nicht „ein für die Berufungsgeschichten typisches Wort“ (208). Das Wort wird gerade von Markus oft gebraucht (9 mal; Mt 6, Lk 4 mal) und immer, außer 15,44, mit Jesus als Subjekt. Fast immer kommt es als Partizip vor (*proskalesamenos*) und bezeichnet ein einleitendes Handeln (3,23; 7,14; 8,1,34; 10,42; 12,43; 15,44). Nur in 3,13 und 6,7 findet es sich als *verbum finitum* und historisches Präsens (*proskaleitai*) und leitet ein Geschehen mit den Zwölf, ihre Bestellung und Aussendung durch Jesus ein. 3,13-19 gehört nicht so sehr mit 1,16-20 und 2,13, sondern mit 6,7-13 zusammen. So kann man auch fragen, ob mit 2,13 tatsächlich ein neuer Abschnitt beginnt und nicht viel mehr mit 1,14 und 3,7 und 6,6b, wo jeweils ein Summarium (1,14f; 3,7-12; 6,6b) vorausgeht und ein Vorgang folgt, der es mit der Fortführung des Wirkens Jesu (‘Menschenfischer‘; Bestellung und Aussendung der Zwölf) zu tun hat. Die Bestellung der Zwölf hängt sicher mit den ersten Berufungen zusammen (z.B. die vier gleichen Namen in 1,16-20 und in 3,16-18); ein sorgfältiger und genauer Vergleich des Aufbaus und der einzelnen Vorgänge zeigt aber den je eigenen und sehr verschiedenen Charakter. Um nur einige Eigenheiten von 3,13-19 zu nennen: das Handeln Jesu vom Berg her, wo Jesus nicht auf den Gipfel des Berges geht (6,46; 9,2), sondern ein Stück bergauf geht (vgl. Mt 5,1) und in Verbindung mit der versammelten Volksmenge (3,7-12) aus ihr heraus die, die er wollte, zu sich ruft (*proskaleitai*) und diese von der Menge weg zu ihm hin gehen (*apelthon pros auton*); die

klare Begrenzung der Gruppe auf zwölf Personen, die mit Namen genannt werden; die Angabe von zwei Zwecken der Bestellung (damit – damit); die Mitteilung von Vollmacht (*exousia*); die Beteiligung am typischen Wirken Jesu (verkünden und Dämonen austreiben vgl. 1,39 und 3,14-15; 6,7.12-13).

Mit dem genaueren Sinn von 3,13-19 hängt zusammen, wie Markus das Verhältnis zwischen den Zwölf und den Jüngern sieht (210.355). Matthäus hat neben dem Ausdruck ‚die Zwölf‘ (10,5; 26,14.20.47) auch den anderen ‚die zwölf Jünger‘ (10,1; 11,1; 20,17; vgl. 28,17); er scheint die beiden Gruppen, die Jünger und die Zwölf, zu identifizieren. Lukas unterscheidet die beiden Gruppen, denn bei ihm wählt Jesus die Zwölf ausdrücklich aus den Jüngern aus (6,12). Bei Markus ist die Situation weniger klar. Während der galiläischen Tätigkeit Jesu gibt es Hinweise, dass die Zahl der Jünger größer ist (2,15; 4,10) und dass die Zwölf von 3,13-19 ab eine eigene Gruppe unter ihnen bilden. Ab dem Verlassen Galiläas (8,27) scheinen ‚Jünger‘ und ‚Zwölf‘ die gleiche Gruppe zu benennen. Wesentliche Unterweisungen Jesu gehen nur an die Zwölf (9,35-50; 10,32-45) und nur die Zwölf sind die Begleiter Jesu auf seinen Wegen in Jerusalem (11,11), nehmen am letzten Mahl teil (14,17) und sind bei ihm bis zu seiner Gefangennahme (14,50). Das genaue Achten auf 3,13-19 kann zeigen, dass der Text keine dritte Berufungsgeschichte ist, sondern die Bestellung der Zwölf berichtet. Wie ein zusammenfassender Blick auf ihre Präsenz bei Markus zeigt, haben sie darüber hinaus, dass sie Jünger Jesu sind, eine besondere Bedeutung unter denen, die zu Jesus gehören. Jesus überlässt die Weiterführung seines Wirkens nicht einer unbestimmten Gruppe von Jüngern, sondern bestellt dafür die Zwölf und überträgt nur ihnen Vollmacht (*exousia*). Bei dieser breit angelegten und so überlegt, gründlich und gekonnt durchgeführten Arbeit würden sich noch viele Stellen zum Austausch, zum Diskutieren und Argumentieren anbieten.

Es kann auffallen, dass das umfangreiche Literaturverzeichnis nur englische und deutsche Titel anführt; Arbeiten auf Französisch, Spanisch, Italienisch wurden wohl prinzipiell ausgeschlossen. Einige Versehen, die bei der Lektüre in den Blick kamen, seien noch genannt. S. 51: nicht „die in sich“, sondern „die sich“. S. 67 Anm. 22: nicht 14,47, sondern 15,47. S. 85 Anm. 82: in Lk 1,16 nicht Ankündigung der Geburt Jesu, sondern der Geburt des Johannes. S. 205: Tyrus und Sidon liegen nicht im Nordosten, sondern im Nordwesten von Galiläa. S. 222 Anm. 474: nicht „ein nur“, sondern „nur ein“. S. 256: nicht *ekeiois*, sondern *ekeinois*. S. 320.341.396: nicht *eime*, sondern *ei me*. S. 320: die Zwölf werden in 3,13-15 für das Aussenden durch Jesus bestimmt, aber erst in 6,7 von ihm ausgesandt. S. 332: die Vollmacht (*exousia*) wird nicht an ‚Jünger‘ weitergegeben, sondern nur an die ‚Zwölf‘.

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Roberto MARTÍNEZ RIVERA, *El amigo del novio*. Juan el Bautista: historia y teología (Estudios Bíblicos). Estella, Editorial Verbo Divino, 2019. viii-381 p. 16 × 24. €22,00

El principal objetivo del libro es “investigar los aspectos más importantes de la vida y ministerio de Juan”, en modo de poder interpretar adecuadamente la

identificación que el cuarto evangelista hace de la figura del Bautista como “amigo del novio” (44) y la importancia que conlleva tal designación para la iglesia primitiva. Para alcanzar esta meta, resultaba imprescindible — señala el autor en la introducción — tratar también con cierto detalle la presentación de Juan que hacen los sinópticos. Además del método histórico-crítico, a lo largo del libro se aplican igualmente otras herramientas exegéticas útiles para descubrir la caracterización general de este personaje, cuya figura ha sido inmensamente estudiada desde la relación entre historia y teología ya a partir de los albores mismos del problema crítico (27-28). No obstante, puesto que este título aún “levanta una serie de interrogantes históricos y teológicos”, convenía, acentúa el autor, evidenciar “la gradual transformación que ha experimentado la interpretación de Juan el Bautista y en particular su caracterización como «el amigo del novio»” (29). Para ello era necesario ofrecer un cuadro hermenéutico apropiado que condujese a tal fin.

El primer capítulo, dedicado a los orígenes del Bautista, parte con acierto de este presupuesto: los evangelios de la infancia encuentran su valor no en la historicidad precisa de los eventos, sino en su profundidad teológica (58). El análisis enfatiza el descrédito que sufría la autoridad judía de la época ante los ojos de su pueblo por haberse sometido al influjo político externo en detrimento de las instituciones y en particular del Templo (60-64). Llama la atención que la narración lucana no presente indicio alguno de un servicio sacerdotal por turnos del hijo de Zacarías en el Templo, sino que al contrario destaque su ministerio en el desierto caracterizado por un estilo de vida esencialmente eremítico (64). Se vislumbra ya, con este dato distintivo, un indicio de continuidad con lo que sería la confrontación directa de Jesús con la forma inauténtica de culto en torno al Templo de Jerusalén.

El segundo capítulo (“La voz que clama en el desierto”) presenta ya un Bautista adulto al comienzo de su predicación. El autor recuerda que tanto los sinópticos, como el cuarto evangelio a su modo, establecen un paralelo entre las figuras de Juan y Jesús bajo el aspecto de la predicación. Así, por ejemplo, la exhortación en Mateo a convertirse al “reino de los cielos”, aunque tenga un núcleo histórico difícil de concretizar, sirve a la teología inspirada del evangelista para mostrar una afinidad entre ambas figuras según el esquema continuidad-cumplimiento (119).

Por otro lado, el autor asevera que “las instrucciones éticas de Juan recogidas por Lucas no necesariamente son su *ipsissima verba* pero sí su *ipsissima vox*”, porque se basan “sobre el contenido esencial de lo que la tradición recordaba sobre su predicación” (131) y destaca que, aunque velada, en ella encontramos una crítica al Templo, puesto que para el Bautista “los privilegios de linaje no garantizan la salvación” (147). La mención del Bautista sobre “el más fuerte” y sobre “el que había de venir” y la expresión “bautizar en Espíritu santo y fuego” (Mt-Lc) en alusión a una inminente purificación renovadora habrían tenido la función de anticipar la postura de Jesús Mesías ante el Templo y sus instituciones (143-146).

El tercer capítulo focaliza sobre el significado del bautismo en el ministerio de Juan y su relación con el Templo (163-165). ¿Fue esta de indiferencia, abierta hostilidad o de crítica indirecta? Tras una apropiada evaluación de las diversas posiciones, el autor con cautela reitera que “el estilo de vida de Juan, junto a su práctica del bautismo, posiblemente implicaba algún tipo de rechazo al estamento del Templo y a su jerarquía” (181; cf. 225).

En el capítulo cuarto, dedicado a la relación entre Juan Bautista y Jesús, se afirma que “todos los evangelios están de acuerdo en indicar que el bautismo de Jesús tuvo lugar en medio de una multitud” (201). Esto lleva a conjeturar que Juan pudiera no haberse percatado de “todo lo que estaba ocurriendo” en ese momento (223). Esta afirmación requiere una aclaración. El cuarto evangelio presenta solo dos personajes, Juan y Jesús, sin mencionar explícitamente multitud alguna (Jn 1,29-34). Más aún, el bautismo mismo de Jesús se encuentra solo implícito — como más adelante se señala en el libro (316) — siendo Jesús quien “cancela el pecado del mundo” (Jn 1,29). A propósito, Martínez alega que probablemente el cuarto evangelista haya querido redimensionar la presentación sinóptica que podría haber dejado en penumbra el conocimiento del Bautista — y/o de sus discípulos — sobre la identidad mesiánica de Jesús al momento del bautismo. Un tal desconocimiento podría haber motivado la posterior pregunta desde la prisión sobre si era Jesús ὁ ἐρχόμενος o si se debía esperar a otro (Mt 11,3; Lc 7,19). Tras una ponderada investigación se favorece la opinión, minoritaria hoy en la exégesis, de que el mismo Bautista dudaba sobre el mesianismo de su pariente. Juan lo habría identificado como “el agente escatológico que esperaba” solo tras la respuesta inequívoca de Jesús (209, 227). Tras un minucioso análisis en los cuatro relatos evangélicos, el autor descubre elementos de continuidad y discontinuidad sea en la predicación que en la actividad desarrollada por ambas figuras. Se concluye con razones convincentes que las semejanzas fueron mayores que las diferencias (209-214, 227).

La muerte de Juan descrita solo en Marcos y Mateo se analiza con detalle en el quinto capítulo. Una vez presentado el trasfondo político de Palestina, el autor considera las circunstancias del arresto y posterior ejecución del profeta. Las diferencias existentes entre Flavio Josefo (*Ant.* XVIII, 118-119) y los evangelistas estribarían en la diversidad de objetivos: para Josefo, el objetivo es encuadrarlo “dentro de las causas de la primera guerra judía contra Roma”, mientras que para los evangelistas “dilucidar lo que le habría ocurrido a Juan y por qué” (239). El verbo παραδίδωμι, empleado para la “entrega” del Bautista (Mc 1,14; Mt 4,12), sugeriría una conspiración de fondo similar a la narrada con relación a Jesús en los cuatro evangelios mediante el uso del mismo verbo. Se conjetura que tal coincidencia podría obedecer a la intención de los evangelistas de establecer una continuidad — también a este nivel — entre Juan y Jesús (235-238). El autor concluye que gracias al relato de la muerte de Juan “la memoria del Bautista subsistiría como modelo de fidelidad y entrega a Dios” y se muestra concorde con J.P. Meier, quien considera a Juan un “*midrash* encarnado” de Jesús (273). Estas características convergentes se reflejarían en la frase “amigo del novio”.

En el último capítulo del libro, que incluye su conclusión general, el autor intenta explicar a cabalidad esta metáfora. Para ello se ocupa, mediante un minucioso análisis exegético, de Jn 3,22-30 (299 n. 87) y lo considera desde un punto de vista netamente sincrónico como una subunidad que el evangelista “ha tejido dentro del conjunto de su obra” (287, 298). Precede una introducción a las características literarias del cuarto evangelio (276-286) destinada “a posibles lectores sin mucha formación en la literatura bíblica” (45).

La frase bajo estudio (ὁ φίλος τοῦ νυμφίου, Jn 3,29) el autor la sitúa — siguiendo sobre todo los comentarios de Brown y Moloney — en una sección que se encuadra a partir de Caná (Jn 2,1) hasta la curación del hijo del funcionario real inclusive (Jn 4,54). Es posible, sin embargo, extender la manifestación

pública de Jesús para incluir el signo de las bodas (Jn 1,19 – 2,12) en cuanto este pasaje cumple de inmediato cuanto anunciado a Natanael de “ver cosas mayores” (Jn 1,50). En consecuencia, la siguiente sección podría empezar con la versión joánica de la expulsión de los mercaderes del Templo (Jn 2,13); así, por ejemplo, en K. Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*. Neuauslage (TKNT 4; Stuttgart 2019) 68-69. Hubiera sido conveniente al menos una nota sobre esta alternativa de composición que podría conllevar algún matiz diverso en la interpretación teológica.

La exégesis realizada en la obra corrobora la dificultad de poder deslindar la verdad profunda sobre la identidad y misión del Bautista según la comprensión post-pascual del evangelista, es decir, separar su figura histórico-teológica de aquella no teológica y solo “histórica” que se rige según categorías exclusivamente espacio-cronológicas. Más aún, se recalca el creciente reconocimiento de la exégesis moderna sobre el aspecto histórico presente en la teología joánica: una narración que valora el símbolo expresa mejor la dimensión transcendental adherente al acontecimiento descrito (58, 286-287).

Se especula sobre la dificultad de probar la relación de amistad entre Juan y Jesús, puesto que solo Mt 3,14-15 refiere explícitamente una breve conversación entre ambos. Los cuatro evangelios mantienen sus figuras en relación, pero al mismo tiempo la distancia entre ellas (197-201). No es posible, por tanto, cimentar con seguridad sobre esta base el título “amigo del novio” (312). Tal designación, concluye el autor, funge principalmente de caracterización simbólico-teológica para retratar la estrecha unión existente entre Cristo y su iglesia, así como para orientar sobre el modo de proceder del cristiano en su rol de testigo, llamado él también a convertirse en “amigo del novio” (315, 320).

El análisis a lo largo del libro resulta didáctico y ameno. Tiene presente posibles lectores sin mucha formación en la literatura bíblica (45), como lo indica también el glosario de términos religiosos y afines en apéndice (321-323). No se rebaja por ello la cualidad científica de la investigación. En ocasiones algunas afirmaciones se construyen con poesía. Baste un ejemplo paradigmático. El estudio de Lc 1,80 concluye así: “Como dunas de arena que dificultan la visibilidad a distancia, la permanencia de Juan en el desierto continúa cubriendo con un velo de misterio los pormenores de su infancia” (101; cf. 109).

En resumen, esta publicación tiene en cuenta la complejidad inherente a la relación entre historia y teología, para lo cual la figura extraordinaria de Juan Bautista resulta un *case study* emblemático. El autor expone con ponderadas razones cuáles son a su juicio aquellos filones “históricos” sobre los orígenes, la predicación y actividad de Juan que se pueden descubrir tras la presentación teológica en los evangelios canónicos. Al mismo tiempo, el estudio abre a nuevas preguntas sobre el título amigo del novio en correspondencia, sobre todo, con el proceso de auto-comprensión de la iglesia primitiva. Todo ello hace que esta obra contribuya positivamente a la ya madura reflexión sobre la aún todavía enigmática figura de Juan profeta.

Wei Hsien WAN, *The Contest for Time and Space in the Roman Imperial Cults and 1 Peter*. Reconfiguring the Universe (The Library of New Testament Studies 611). London, T&T Clark, 2020. xiv-202 p. 16 × 24. £85.00

This volume is a further example of the innovative research being undertaken on 1 Peter under the guidance of Professor David Horrell at the University of Exeter, and is a tribute to the productivity of the traditional focus in the Humanities on the insights and commitment of the individual researcher being located within a setting of intellectual collaboration around shared interests. As indicated by the title, Wei Hsien Wan seeks to apply to 1 Peter questions and a mode of approach that have become familiar in other areas of the New Testament, especially Pauline studies, namely those that give key hermeneutical significance to the imperial context, whether explicit or implicit. Although previous scholarship has paid considerable attention to the social setting of 1 Peter and its addressees, and to the application of social-scientific analysis, this line of research has tended to focus on the more particular civic status and context, and far less so on the broader religio-political dimensions of the Roman provincial framework and the well-attested importance of the imperial cult in Asia Minor. Furthermore, where there has been discussion of the attitude of 1 Peter to “the state”, it has conventionally started from 1 Peter 2,13-17, often with a degree of anxiety about the apparently quietist and conformist response this passage might suggest. By contrast, Wan locates his approach firmly within the trajectory of post-colonial analysis and James Scott’s exploration of strategies of resistance. By limiting his investigation to the ideologies of time and space implicit in the practical and material expressions of the imperial cult as witnessed not only by literary but also by epigraphic and archaeological evidence, Wan avoids the broad generalisations and eclectic choice of examples to which some investigations of “Empire” are susceptible.

For his presentation of the impact of the imperial cults in Asia Minor Wan draws extensively on the foundational studies of Simon Price (*Rituals and Power* [Cambridge 1984]) and of Steven Friesen (*Twice Neokoros* [Leiden 1993]), following their lead, and current scholarly consensus, in recognising that there was no single “imperial cult”, although even the use of the plural might still suggest a recognisable and recognised category rather than the extensive and even inchoate set of practices, roles, activities, interventions, and material evidence that give rise to the modern scholarly nomenclature. Wan argues that implicit in the imperial cults was an ideology that can be explored through its recalibrating of time and remapping of space. The former is exemplified through the adoption in 9/8 BCE, at the suggestion of the proconsular governor of Asia Minor, Paulus Fabius Maximus, of a calendar in which the year began on 23rd September, Augustus’ birthday, and continue through the cycle of festivals, and through the ideology of the imperial family and succession celebrated in them. The remapping of space is explored principally through the location and the architecture of the temples and related cultic sites dedicated to the cult, which Wan illustrates by a detailed examination of Ephesus, Aphrodisias, and Ankara, arguing, with his predecessors in the field, that these not only modelled but also helped effect the centralising control of Rome both politically over against the traditions of self-government

in the Greek cities and ideologically in imagining a world of which Rome was the centre. Although he acknowledges the recent scholarly emphasis that the particular instantiations of the imperial cults were negotiated and achieved through the interaction between local leadership and existing practices on the one hand and the novelties introduced by Roman control on the other, he subsumes this under a notion of hybridity that still serves the interests of the coloniser (see 55-59), and perhaps does not sufficiently recognise the degree to which (as Peter Thonemann has shown in relation to the calendar [*ZPE* 196 (2015) 123-141]) local practice could continue “below the radar”.

By emphasising the transformative effects of the introduction of the imperial cults into cultic life, Wan seeks to project an overarching world view against which he can then construct that of 1 Peter. Thus, the chapters on “Time” and “Space” “in the Imperial Cults” are each followed by one on “in 1 Peter”. The topics addressed in those chapters are familiar in Petrine scholarship: first, 1 Peter’s use of Scripture and the scriptural past as well as its interpretation of the eschatological present and future, and then the language of sojourning or “alien” existence, diaspora, and the forms of belonging implicit in the language of “house/hold” etc. Here Wan engages creatively with a range of existing scholarship on these topics, positioning himself neatly within current positions, but building from them an overarching ideology of time and space whose co-ordinates are sharply contrasted with the dominant ones of the imperial cults. What emerges from 1 Peter is a worldview which pivots around the ultimate power and control of God, and in which Christ, and in particular Christ’s suffering, generates a universe where those addressed can properly live as “aliens and exiles” in the knowledge that the suffering they undergo makes profound sense and will receive its ultimate resolution. It is in this framework that 1 Peter 2,13 is to be read, briefly acknowledging the presence of the Emperor and his authority, but setting his “desacralized power” firmly in its place, indeed strikingly otherwise absent from the purview of the letter.

Wan writes with clarity and energy, with a clear sense of direction both in the detailed discussions of the various textual and material evidence he examines and in the overall argument and its application of the methodological principles with which he started. His command of the secondary literature is generally sound, even if he has his favourite, heavily-cited, authorities, and, as unfortunately is increasingly common in anglophone early career research, his bibliography is almost entirely limited to works in English. Occasional more contemporary references betray a sense of personal commitment to the theological and ideological conclusions reached and to the reading strategies adopted. It is of the nature of the undertaking that it is built on a binary model hinted at in the use of the term “contest” in the title. Although throughout he is focussed on the experience of those addressed by the workings of the imperial cults or by 1 Peter and not just on competing or parallel uses of language and terminology, as has been the case in some older studies of “the Emperor and Christ”, this is a textually constructed contest — if the material is understood as equally textual. As noted above, how far there were other forms of resistance, how far for the majority life continued as normal, how far the messages that *can* be read from the measures, practices and buildings examined *were* so read, falls outside of the picture. This account belongs far more to the “religion as socio-political strategy” tradition than to the emerging emphases on lived religion and the re-emphasis on belief in some recent studies of Roman religion.

Furthermore, it is integral to the model that to some extent there is a symmetry, even if an antithetical one, between the ideology of Empire as reconstructed and that of God and God's control as projected by 1 Peter. For some interpreters this could pose further hermeneutical challenges, perhaps best exemplified by the markedly asymmetrical exhortations to slaves and wives to submit (1 Peter 2,18-25; 3,1-6); Wan treats these as demonstrations of the "transformative power of effective endurance" (109), but he does not explore the implications of this being modelled by those who were already subordinated by the imperial system. Other readers may feel that he dismisses too peremptorily concerns that 1 Peter's appropriation both of Jewish scriptures but also of Israel's foundational self-designation (1 Peter 2,9) might itself be seen as a "form of colonial violence" (111, n. 42, with reference to Betsy Bauman-Martin, "Speaking Jewish", in *Reading First Peter with New Eyes* [eds. Robert Webb – Betsy Bauman-Martin] [New York 2007] 144-177). Indeed, he argues that "the traumatic narrative of Israel's captivity and exile under Babylon is used to good effect" (167) and accepts that, given the "liturgically-saturated vocabulary of the verse", οἶκος in 1 Peter 2,5 designates a temple (172), but he does not reflect further on the implications of such a reading. The Jewish communities who were undoubtedly part of the socio-political and "religious" landscape are strikingly absent from the contested world-views or reconfigured universe, admittedly reflecting a perplexing feature of 1 Peter itself, but one that should not be ignored.

That such questions can be asked points to the continuing provocation that 1 Peter presents for readers, and to the fertility of responding with a range of reading strategies and contextualizations, both of the text and of its interpreters. *The Contest for Time and Space* undoubtedly makes a significant contribution to discussion of its theme, and it will be important reading for students of 1 Peter, for those interested in the broader socio-political and religious context of early Christianity, and for those exploring the methods and hermeneutical value of post-colonial readings.

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David A. BOSWORTH, *House of Weeping*. The Motif of Tears in Akkadian and Hebrew Prayers (Ancient Near East Monographs 24). Atlanta, GA, SBL Press, 2019. xv-166 p. 15.5 × 23. \$44.95

In this synchronic study of texts drawn from (Sumero-)Akkadian genres of prayer and the Hebrew Psalter, the author tracks the motif of tears/weeping, detailing their form and function in prayer and how this function conforms to the role crying plays in human relational interactions. His study moves from the premise

that weeping and prayer are closely linked social behaviors and explainable within the parameters of attachment theory (which he develops at length) according to which they are a means to coregulate emotions, eliciting help in moments of distress caused by separation, fear, or illness. This behavior maps onto religious practice where the divinity becomes the partner in this social sharing, an attachment figure that is sought out as a “safe haven and a secure base”. Through the lens of this theory he proceeds to analyze two corpora of texts.

He first examines Akkadian compositions drawn from native prayer forms (with labels inherited from their Sumerian analogues) in which weeping plays a role: the *šu-il₂-la₍₂₎* “hand raising”, from the repertoire of the healer-incantationist (*āšipu*) and addressed to major divinities enlisted to ensure health and to repair a disrupted relationship with one’s personal divinity; the *er₂-ša₃-huḡ-ḡa₂* “weeping/lament for pacifying the [divinity’s] heart”, prayers in Emesal (a variety of Sumerian) with interlinear Akkadian translations, addressed to major divinities by a cult singer (*kalû*); the *dîḡir-ša₃-dab₍₅₎-ba* “weeping/lament for [turning around] the [divinity’s] angry heart” made so by the suppliant’s sin (witting or unwitting) and addressed to one’s personal divinity. After a brief survey of other categories of prayer which do not feature weeping (and one Hittite prayer that does), he concludes with prayers outside any of the aforementioned types that also happen to include weeping: an Old Babylonian “letter prayer” (deposited in a temple for a divinity) and two later hymnic prayers to Ištar and Marduk respectively.

He proceeds to the Psalter of the Bible where prayers in which weeping is a component belong, quite naturally, to the genre of lament — individual (of 42 identified as such), viz. Psalms 6, 39, 42–43, 56, 69, 102, and communal (of 16 so identified), namely Psalms 80, 126, 137. Four psalms from other genres are also examined: Psalms 30 and 116 (thanksgiving), Psalm 78 (historical), and Psalm 119 (wisdom/torah).

In the Akkadian as well as in the Hebrew material, he focuses on the text and immediate context, in the original and in translation, wherein the motif of weeping is articulated. An accompanying commentary highlights various aspects (where discernible) of the weeping, such as type (sad, bitter, angry, fearful), timing (daytime, nighttime, constantly), audience (human or divine), and motive (almost invariably to generate sympathy and assuage divine wrath, always to coregulate emotion). He parses the sounds emitted by animals that occasionally feature in the description of how one prays, sometimes interesting for the author’s understanding of weeping as part of an attachment system. In conclusion, the motif of weeping is found largely in the context of divine anger. In the Akkadian material it shows up, therefore, mostly in the *eršaḫunga* and, to lesser extent, in the *dinḡiršadabba*, and only in those *šulla* confronting an angry divinity; in the Psalter the psalmist employs it, albeit more narrowly, particularly when grappling with misery for which God is understood as (partly) responsible.

I should note that the accidents of discovery combined with the fact that the author includes for study material that has survived more or less complete and made available in publication means that the conclusions drawn concerning the frequency of weeping in and its significance for Akkadian prayer forms can only be tentative, though arguably indicative of a general trend. Assertions regarding literary dependence — in particular the precedence of the Sumerian motif of tears as sustenance and its transit via Akkadian into Hebrew euchological expression — absent thoroughgoing diachronic research, however, are hasty.

In a study such as this with its important lexical basis, a certain consistency (in the case of recurring terms) and precision in the translation and treatment of Akkadian texts is essential, even though, admittedly, notoriously difficult to achieve without compromising intelligibility. I forgo issues related to the occasionally somewhat idiosyncratic rendering of verbal tense and aspect. In the translation of constructions involving the sequencing of injunctives, a final clause is likely missed in Ishtar 2 line 45 (44) and Ishtar 10 lines 25-27 (49). Even without the coordinating enclitic particle *-ma*, this construction may illustrate a certain *do ut des* strategy in Nusku 13 line 104: “Cheerfully receive (it/them), *so that* your heart may calm down and your liver settle down” (42). In Eršahunga 1.6D, Adad is not explicitly identified as “angry”, nor is the petitioner experiencing the divinity’s “active animosity”. In line 7’ (55) Adad’s *puluḫtu* “awesomeness”, described as *galittu* “fearsome”, with which he has enveloped (not “cast down”) land and people, is a depiction befitting tempestuous weather. The same verbal adjective (*galtum*, m., translated “disturbed” by the author) occurs in line 13’ where it modifies the god’s heart. Adad’s *ernittu* in line 12’ is likely auditory (cf. CT 15 3 i 4), a victory cry — an apt designation of thunder. Thus, the *maruštu* of line 8’ is not so much “evil” as “duress”, an effect of a violent storm. In Eršahunga 2.1D, judging from the likely stichometry in line 4 (64), *ma-a-da* is probably the predicate of what is lost in the break, thus *mādā* “[...] are many”, not *ma’da/māda* “much”. In Eršahunga 2.3 (to Aya), line 16 (65), the image of lips *ša lagâ nadâ* “which are covered in scales” (not “dirt”), i.e. “chapped”, may well fit the model of weeping in the context of fasting (with ensuing dehydration). The translation and discussion (with some imprecision regarding analysis of the Sumerian forms) of Dingiršadabba 9, lines 13’ and 15’ (70-71) can benefit from the edition of a bilingual text from Mari published by M. Guichard, “Une prière bilingue inédite de Mari”, *Colères et repentirs divins* (éds. J.-M. Durand, et al.) (OBO 278; Fribourg – Göttingen 2015) 343-376. Dating to the Old Babylonian period, this text represents the oldest known version of the prayer in Akkadian and provides new insights into its reading and understanding. Lines 29’-32’ (71-72) present a refrain of sorts, where the adverb *kīniš*, much like the Latin *pie*, appeals to the personal god’s expected behavior as protector of the individual; thus, l. 30’ “my god, my lord, you are the watchful one, *duly* watch over me!” Cf. also Dingiršadabba 11.5, lines 101 and 103 (74). In the conclusion to the Literary Prayer to Marduk (84), the author asserts that the voice of the patient can be found in a previously quoted “I am ill”. It appears that he is inadvertently referencing an alternative reading of line 129 (83), i.e. *mar-ša-ku* (*maršāku*) instead of the *mar-ša-tuš* in his transliteration.

The meaning and function of weeping in Psalm 6 is somewhat overstated — from a very tenuous link between the psalmist’s tears (v. 7) and dangerous flooding waters to the “key” role these tears play in the prayer (98-100). Regarding the latter, what lays claim (*kī*) to the LORD’s intervention are the psalmist’s weakness (v. 3a), the shuddering of his bones and of his soul (vv. 3b-4a), and the fact that in Sheol none mentions or praises Him (v. 6). More explicit is v. 5b where the LORD’s mercy is adduced as the basis (*l’ma’an*) of intervention. Furthermore, besides his weeping (v. 9b), it is also the psalmist’s plea for mercy that has gained a hearing and his prayer (v. 10) acceptance. The assertion (117) that שׁוּב “turn” in Ps 80,15 “suggests divine wrongdoing” and “impl[ies] that God is the one who needs to repent, not the people” is excessive. The imperative שׁוּב־נָא “do turn” presumes, indeed, the perception of divine indifference in the face of Israel’s

woes but, together with the following imperatives, it articulates simply a plea for the LORD to move from inaction to action. In the exposition of Psalm 126, the author handles the verb שׁוּב *qal* in vv. 1 and 4 in two different ways (118). While initially treating YHWH as transitive subject who effects the exiles' restoration (cf. also n. 84 "When YHWH restored"), he proceeds to interpret the verb intransitively as expressing YHWH's return, without addressing the change in transitivity. Because שׁוּב is ultimately understood intransitively, the images of those going forth to sow in tears and joyously returning with their sheaves in vv. 5-6 must be broadly interpreted as an offer of "hope that the petition for God's return will be realized" (119). However, read transitively with virtually all versions, ancient and modern, vv. 1 and 4 sing, instead, of YHWH returning His people. Thus, the images of sowing and harvesting arguably form an apt metaphor for some national upset (especially an exile, cf. for example Amos 9,13-15; John 12,24) followed by a jubilant restoration. In Ps 30,4 נַפֵּשׁ is undoubtedly demanded by the constraints of synonymous parallelism which needs another way to express "me" (in the second colon), hence, conventionally, "my soul". It is thus not "separable from the first-person speaker" as an indication "that the self is dialogic" (124). In a summary discussion (133-134) of the correlation between divine anger and human tears in those psalms where God is more of a *causa nostrae maestitiae* and approached as "indifferent or hostile" (Broyles' "God-laments"), the author asserts that this divine anger "deprives people of God himself and of life with him" (Fløysvik). Such a conclusion would likely have been incomprehensible to the psalmist who prays to a God who is evidently not beyond reach in the psalmist's "dark night" — indeed, one with whom he is compelled to remonstrate directly, familiarly, indeed brazenly, and without feeling the need for an intercessory figure able to calm a hostile divinity, as in some Akkadian prayers.

Among the inevitable typographical errors and related lapses, I mention only Ishtar 2 F3^m *nāplisannīma*, not *nāplisānīma* (48); Eršahunga 1.2F, line 26, the finite verbal form is a precative 3mp with 3ms dative suffix (mostly restored), not so translated (55); Dingiršadabba 11.1, line 9 *a-le-ʾi*, not *a-li-ʾ* (73); the oracle-query/response is *tāmītu* (< *amû*, *taprist* pattern), not *tamītu* (< *tamû*) (77-78). MT Ps 56,9 שִׁמָּה is *mil'el*, an imperative, not a participle (107); in expressions denoting weeping, one finds (metonymically) עַפְעָפִים "eyelids, eyelashes", not (132) פִּלְפֹּל.

A comparative study of the euchological traditions of Mesopotamia and Ancient Israel provides an opportunity to peer into the hearts, as it were, of these peoples and to discern therein a genuine spirituality, an opening to something transcendent; for this I recommend G. Buccellati's *Quando in alto i cieli* (Milan 2012). Reaching us from cultures distant in time and space, these texts will perhaps not yield so readily to a relentlessly Western literary analysis (or psychological probing). The one who prayed did not understand prayer as a soliloquy. In the Psalms (taken on their own terms), furthermore, the transcendent is no longer a silent partner.

NUNTII PERSONARUM ET RERUM

ROMAN LEBIEDZIUK, C.R. (1956-2020)

In memoriam

Il 9 novembre 2020 è morto presso il Santuario della Madonna delle Grazie di Mentorella (diocesi di Tivoli) il R.P. Roman Józef Lebiecki, sacerdote della Provincia Polacca della Congregazione della Risurrezione. Era nato il 20 luglio 1956 a Szczecin (Polonia) e il 1° agosto 1975 era entrato nella Congregazione della Risurrezione. Il 22 maggio 1981 aveva emesso i voti perpetui nella chiesa del seminario a Cracovia e il 15 maggio 1982 era stato ordinato sacerdote nella chiesa della stessa città. Dopo aver completato il primo ciclo di filosofia e teologia a Cracovia (1976-1983), si era iscritto alla Pontificia Accademia Teologica di Cracovia, dove aveva conseguito la Licenza in Teologia (specializzazione biblica) nel 1986. Nello stesso anno era stato trasferito alla casa generalizia della sua Congregazione a Roma e aveva iniziato gli studi biblici presso il Pontificio Istituto Biblico, dove aveva conseguito la Licenza in S. Scrittura nel 1991 e, completato l'anno di preparazione al dottorato, era stato dichiarato "Candidato al Dottorato" (1994). Dal 2003 al 2015 era stato Assistente della Facoltà Biblica del Pontificio Istituto Biblico insegnando il corso propedeutico di greco biblico (sia in italiano che in inglese). Dal 2007 al 2015 era stato anche segretario di redazione di *Biblica*. Conclusa la collaborazione con il Pontificio Istituto Biblico nel 2015, era stato inviato dai suoi superiori nella casa di Mentorella, con residenza a Tivoli, prestando il suo servizio pastorale nelle parrocchie della Madonna della Fiducia e di San Bernardino. Dal 2017 fino alla sua morte improvvisa, all'età di 64 anni, è stato cappellano presso il Santuario della Mentorella.

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